3,000 New Militant Readers

— See Page 2 —

THE MILITANT

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DRIVE TO CONSCRIPT LABOR RENEWED

WLB Steel Panel Hears Facts On Low Wages, Super-Profits

Union Proves Need For Wage Increase

By Joseph Keller

While the corporations have boosted their share of the national income 62 percent during this war, the relative share of the workers has actually declined almost 10 percent.

This was the startling fact exposed by Philip Murray last week in his testimony before the War Labor Board steel panel, which heard a mass of irrefutable evidence in support of the CIO United Steel Workers' demands for wage increases beyond the Little Steel formula.

Corporations which received 8 percent of the national income in 1939, raked in 13 percent during 1942. Farmers, which include corporate and bank landowners who got the major portion of the gravy, increased their share of the nation's total income from 5.9 percent to 7.1 percent, or a rise of almost 83 percent. Labor, the wage-earners who constitute over 80 percent of the population, received only 59.3 percent of the national income as compared to 65.7 percent in the last pre-war year.

LABOR SHARE DECLINES

The decline in labor's share of the national income is even far greater than these figures indicate when it is considered that this share is now being divided among 12,000,000 more wage earners, and that an enormous portion of workers' incomes is paid out in price rises and the 20 percent pay roll tax.

The average steel worker ends in the red each week to the extent of $8.44. This debt he makes up by redeeming war bonds, digging into any savings he has put aside for a "rainy day," and principally by borrowing from loan sharks or increasing his debts to merchants.

Steel workers' straight-time pay now ranges from 78 cents to $1.21 an hour, the average being $1.06. Their average weekly pay, before taxes and other deductions, is $56.04. This is no "silk-shirt" era for them, especially in view of the 43.2 percent rise in the cost of living since January 1941, as proved by the recent joint AFL-CIO survey. **These figures were bolstered by the survey of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics showing cost of living of farm families has risen 42.6 percent.**

What does the average steel worker spend his frozen wages for? Murray cited the budgets of 1,000 representative steel workers, whose earnings were paid out as follows:

For food per week, $18.51; housing, $25.31 a month; $16 a

(Continued on page 2)

Cost-Plus Hogs

Roosevelt's "Hold-the-Line" order and the Little Steel formula have had no bearing on what the steel bosses have paid themselves in fat salaries during the war period.

Wartime salaries of steel corporation heads, who also own the biggest shares of stocks, rose 36.2 per cent from 1939 to 1942. Some of the most vicious opponents of wage increases for the steel workers did far, far better than this.

Eugene Grace, president of Bethlehem Steel, upped his salary take from $271,000 in 1939 to $527,000 in 1942—a boost of 94 per cent.

Tom Girdler, head of Republic Steel, snatched a 60.7 per cent salary raise for himself, bringing his 1942 salary to $275,000.

E. T. Weir, head of Weirton Steel, whose thugs are terrorizing and beating up CIO union men, netted $275,400 in 1942, "only" 52.1 per cent more than his 1939 salary.

These are the men who insist on a wage freeze.

Steel Barons Grab Gigantic War Loot

"Greed and profiteering of corporations" have caused the "present inflationary rise in prices and cost of living," charged the CIO United Steel Workers in a brief supporting its demand for a 17 cents an hour wage increase, which Philip Murray presented last week before the War Labor Board steel panel.

A devastating barrage of facts about war profiteering and the ability of the steel corporations to pay the demanded wages without boosting steel prices was hurled at the panel by Murray.

Corporate profits before taxes increased on the average 406 percent in 1943 over the pre-war record years of 1936-1939. The estimated increase for 1944 is figured conservatively at 449 percent. Net profits, after taxes and all other costs, rose 175 percent in 1943, and are expected to shoot up to 200 percent this year. This is in contrast to the 15 percent maximum wage increase over January 1941 which the workers are permitted under the Little Steel formula.

SWOLLEN PROFITS

For the steel industry itself, the net profits before taxes from 1940 through 1942 averaged $752,198,000 a year, an increase of 244.5 percent, and **"the 1942 profit showed an amazing increase of 344.8 percent."**

From the enormously swollen steel profits, and assets of over 6 billion dollars in 1942, the coupon clippers have sliced off 59.1 percent more dividends, holding in reserve as undistributed profits $994,035,000, which have expanded by almost $235,000,000 during the war.

Another third of a billion dollars, representing hidden profits, has been soaked away by the steel

(Continued on page 2)

Amending the "Four Freedoms"

CRDC Launches Campaign For 10,000 Signatures By July 1

The National Office of the Civil Rights Defense Committee announced this week that an intensive national campaign was opened on April 1st to gather 10,000 signatures on petitions by July 1st. These petitions protest the imprisonment of the 18 and urge President Roosevelt to grant the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO members unconditional and immediate pardon.

August Scholle, Regional Director, CIO Political Region 6, National CIO Political Action Committee, denounced the imprisonments this week in a letter to James T. Farrell, Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. He writes:

"It is my considered judgment that the unreviewed conviction in the Federal Court at Minneapolis of 18 labor unionists stands as one of the gravest present challenges to the continued efficacy of the Bill of Rights. My attitude in the matter has nothing to do with the ideology of the defendants; it goes to the larger question of what the guarantees of free speech and free press mean in the Constitution. And largest of all looms the proposition that the law now covers what a man may think. This latter proposition places the citizen completely under the domination of the judiciary, astounding as that point of view may seem.

SUPREME COURT

"I believe that this case is most definitely one in which the Supreme Court of the United States should have issued a writ of certiorari and rendered a decision on the constitutional point involved. Its failure to do so established a precedent that stands from now on as a threat to freedom of expression and freedom of thought. The fear that a constitutional guarantee might not be enforceable is just as much a restriction of liberty as the complete absence of the guarantee itself.

"You may use my name in support of any appeal made to the President of the United States for full and unconditional pardons for these 18 persons. . ."

John M. Holly, President of the Future Outlook League, who spoke together with George Novack, National CRDC Secretary at the Cleveland CRDC meeting during Mr. Novack's visit to that city on March 26, wrote:

"After studying the case of the 18 Minneapolis prisoners convicted for alleged sedition, and following my attending your meeting on last Sunday evening in the Allerton Hotel, I am thoroughly convinced that the men and women involved are not only entitled to, but should have a thorough, unbiased rehearing in this case. . . **If the case against these persons is allowed to go uncontested, it will not be long before every group in America will eventually suffer a similar fate on practically any trumped up charges, by groups whom we may oppose or disagree with. You may depend upon me to assist in every way possible to seek the release of the Minneapolis prisoners."**

RIGHT DENIED

The San Francisco Committee Against Segregation and Discrimination this week added its

(Continued on page 5)

DeLorenzo Indicted

Thomas De Lorenzo, president of the militant Brewster Aeronautical Local 365, CIO United Automobile Workers, has been indicted by a federal grand jury for alleged misstatements contained in an application he filed with the Federal Civil Service Commission.

This is a continuation of the witch-hunt instituted by the government against the Brewster local when the House Naval Affairs Committee last year turned its investigation of the failure of the corporation to fulfill its contracts into a smear against the union.

Immediate action was taken by the Local executive board to mobilize labor support behind their president, who is threatened with 10 years imprisonment and $10,000 fine because of his refusal to knuckle under to the corporation and his defiance of the Congressional labor-baiters.

A resolution issued by the Local 365 executive board states: "Local 365 recognizes that the indictment of Thomas De Lorenzo is nothing more than a reactionary attempt to crush labor. The executive board goes on record to give Brother De Lorenzo all the necessary moral and financial aid required because of the indictment."

Briggs Local Calls For Revocation of No-Strike Pledge

DETROIT, Mich. — The membership meeting of 2000 workers of Briggs Local 212 UAW-CIO, held on Sunday, March 26 voted unanimously to request the International Executive Board to call a special convention in order to rescind the no-strike pledge. The president of the Briggs Local sent out notices to all the other UAW locals asking "that you follow our example by petitioning the International to call a special convention for this purpose." The letter further demands "that the Little Steel Formula be broken" and argues "that if every Local Union gets solidly behind this program and sends telegrams to Brother Murray, this pressure will assist him in this very important fight. We also believe that the revocation of the no-strike pledge is the only way to bring some of the uncooperative companies to terms."

This action of the Briggs Local is especially significant following as it does the statement issued by Wise W. Stone, Recording Secretary of the Aircraft Unit of Ford Local 600 and Lawrence Yost, President of the River

(Continued on page 2)

Manpower Shortage Created To Screen Reactionary Plot

Roosevelt Spurs Campaign for Labor Draft As Union Heads Maintain Silence on Issue

By C. Thomas

Under cover of an artificially created manpower shortage, the administration is campaigning to whip up public sentiment in favor of Roosevelt's forced labor proposal. The campaign was launched under Roosevelt's order of February 26, directing Selective Service to review the draft status of men between the ages of 18 through 37 who were occupationally deferred. It came to a head with the issuance of a directive by Major General Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service, to all draft boards ordering immediate pre-induction physical examinations for occupationally deferred men between the ages of 18 and 26. It was announced that 1,000,000 men in this category were to be drafted no matter what the effect on war production.

Business Week, voice of the money bags cynically announces: "'Manpower crisis in March,' said *Business Week* on Dec. 11. Army and Navy have precipitated the crisis right on schedule."

The government announcement elicited a howl from the heads of the various civilian agencies and spokesmen for industrial groups who contended that such blanket withdrawals of key men would create a manpower tangle which would be "disastrous" to "some of the nation's most vital war programs." Administration spokesmen then countered with a proposal to draft 4-F's and men between the ages of 38 and 45 for work in essential industries—those unfit for military service who were not employed in "essential jobs" to be drafted into Army labor battalions. The essence of the administration proposal is to fill the vacancies created in drafting men for military service by a forced labor draft of civilian workers.

"LABOR" REPORTS

"Union chieftains," reports **Labor**, official organ of the Railroad Brotherhoods, "voiced frank skepticism over the sudden hysteria. They pointed out it came at a time when, on the military side, over 4,000,000 soldiers are already abroad, and millions more at home, and on the industrial side, thousands of workers are being laid off daily due to cutbacks." **Frank Fenton, AFL organizer, and a member of the War Manpower Commission's labor-management committee, declared: "The whole scare seems to add up to a new effort to drum up sentiment for the discredited 'national service act'." Having failed in his initial attempt to put over a labor draft under the hysteria whipped up after General Marshall's attack on labor, Roosevelt is now executing a flank attack, by manufacturing a "manpower shortage."**

Actually, the argument of a manpower shortage is as full of holes as a Swiss cheese. A few weeks ago the Truman committee reported that the peak of manpower requirements had been passed, and, as a matter of fact, unemployment is becoming serious in many sectors because of cutbacks in war production. The Truman report recommended that the output of civilian goods be increased to absorb the unemployed and save many small plants from going out of business when their war contracts were terminated. The report condemned the "brass hats" responsible for resisting conversion to civilian production. On January 14, 1944 the N. Y. **Herald-Tribune** reported the announcement of the War Production Board that it had cut its estimated 1944 munitions program by five billion dollars. In a report made in March, the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, stated: "Wartime industrial expansion in the area has passed it peak," and while many workers laid off in the recent period have been reemployed in factories producing civilian goods, "future layoffs, however, cannot be absorbed fully by manufacturing and a considerable number of workers may move back to trade and service establishments." **The examples cited could be multiplied a hundred-fold. They tell a story contrary to the legendary manpower shortage being drumned up by Roosevelt and his agents.**

Even Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission, testifying before the House Military Affairs subcommittee on the draft, declared he was not in favor of a national service act now. "I would have welcomed something of this kind eighteen months ago," he added, "but the job has been done on a voluntary basis. It has been done. Why undo it?" However, if the brass hats want it, says McNutt, "who am I to object?" That the brass hats "wanted it" was made unmistakably clear by the testimony before the committee of Robert P. Patterson, Under-Secretary of War, and Ralph A. Bard, Assistant Secretary of the Navy. **They informed the committee that their preference was for a "universal manpower draft such as the Austin-Wadsworth Bill," but "in the absence of prompt enactment" of such a measure they would suggest "modification of the Austin-Wadsworth bill to conform with the 4-F plan."**

In the face of the strong opposition to a "universal" forced

(Continued on page 5)

Stop Plot To Rehabilitate GPU Assassin Siqueiros In The US!

The long arm of Stalin's world-wide GPU murder machine is reaching out into the United States. David Alfaro Siqueiros, notorious GPU gunman, incendiary, self-confessed assassin and fugitive from Mexican justice, is preparing to enter this country with the diplomatic assistance of Nelson Rockefeller, co-ordinator of inter-American affairs.

This Stalinist gangster in 1941 skipped bail and fled from Mexico after confessing to the Mexican police that he had organized and led the GPU machine-gun and fire-bomb assault on Leon Trotsky's Coyoacan home on May 24, 1940, when Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's American secretary and guard, was kidnapped and murdered.

The news of this GPU hireling's projected visit to the United States was reported in **Time** magazine, April 3. Under the heading, "Siqueiros Rides Again," **Time** magazine states: "In Mexico last week David Alfaro Siqueiros . . . revealed that he is about to visit the U. S. . ." It then goes on to add that Siqueiros openly boasted of the assistance he had already received "from Nelson Rockefeller's coordinators of inter-American affairs" during his recent junket through Latin American countries.

It was only a few weeks ago that the sudden reappearance of Siqueiros in Mexico created a sensation and a public scandal. His presence was discovered accidentally by a reporter for the Mexico City daily newspaper **Excelsior** who ran into this "renowned fugitive from justice" on a bus. According to this reporter:

"The method by which Siqueiros reentered the country (Mexico)—coming from Cuba and accompanied by his wife, Angelica Arenal—is one of those things which seem destined to remain a profound mystery." (Excelsior, **March 1.)**

Reprinted from Excelsior

GPU Gunman Siqueiros

On March 3, **Excelsior** reported:

"Since his (Siqueiros') arrival in this city seven or eight days ago he has been seen widely and has made no attempt whatsoever at concealment. It is obvious from this that he 'does not fear the police' and that he doesn't care a hang about the charges still pending against him in the First Penal Court—charges of the crimes of attempted homicide, discharging of firearms, housebreaking, and property damage."

The next day, the same paper reported:

"The judge of the First Penal Court has already declared that his order of arrest against the artist and fugitive from justice, although never carried out, still remains in force, but that it is outside his jurisdiction to see that it is carried into effect."

What is this mysterious power that renders a fugitive from justice immune, ennabling him to flee and reenter Mexico at will, and to flout the courts? It is the power of Siqueiros' employers in the Kremlin, the power of Stalin's GPU, whose assignment to assassinate Leon Trotsky this criminal tried to carry out in May 1940.

CRIME DETAILS

The details of this crime are a matter of public record. The before-dawn attack on Trotsky's residence was made by 25 to 30 gangsters, who broke into the building hurling incendiary bombs and spraying machine gun bullets. They burst into the bedroom of Trotsky and his wife Natalia, ripping to pieces with machine gun slugs the bed on which the elderly couple had but a moment before been sleeping. The intended victims awakened at the first sound of firing and hid in a dark corner of the room. They thus miraculously escaped the assassins.

After the assailants, who were

(Continued on page 5)

FLINT CIO ACTIVE IN NEW MICHIGAN PARTY

FLINT, Mich.—While the labor bureaucrats are helping whitewash the two corrupt old-line parties, especially Roosevelt's Democratic Party, progressive unionists of Michigan are pushing forward an intensive organizational campaign to build the Michigan Commonwealth Federation.

The MCF membership drive was launched at the first state committee meeting March 26, in Lansing, carrying out the mandates of the 415 delegates at the Detroit study conference of March 4-5. Organizational rules were adopted and plans laid for the combined constitutional-nominating convention to be held probably in July at Grand Rapids.

Meanwhile, petitions are being circulated to place the party on the Michigan ballot in November, if the convention so decides. Membership forms are being circulated and other literature prepared. County committees are being organized in the industrial centers—the first at Flint for Genesee County. Commonwealth clubs are being formed wherever 10 members or more are enrolled. Block affiliations of trade unions, farm and other organizations are being sought. A number of local unions have already signified their intention to affiliate. Delegates to the state convention will be from Commonwealth Clubs and bloc affiliates, the latter having one-fourth the representation of member Clubs.

LANSING MEETING

At the Lansing session the state committee enlarged itself from 52 to 83 members, mostly union militants from throughout the state, with a sprinkling of progressive farmers, small business people and professionals.

The next committee meeting was set for April 30 at Flint.

(Continued on page 5)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

When President Sherman Dalrymple of the CIO United Rubber Workers arbitrarily suspended 72 members of the Akron General Tire and Rubber Local 9 for participation in a strike, he stirred up a real hornets nest. Among the key locals which came to the support of Local 9 was the important Goodrich Local 5, which issued a sharp resolution condemning Dalrymple's dictatorial action.

The resolution, reprinted in Local 5's publication, Air Bag, charges that Dalrymple suspended the 72 Local 9 militants "without trial or hearing, in direct violation of their rights as provided in the URWA constitution," and that Dalrymple's methods are those fostered by the corporations "to split the labor movement by unjust and undemocratic discriminatory actions."

Air Bag affirms that "our local gives solid support to the General Local 9 members who have been wrongfully expelled by President Dalrymple and fired from their jobs. . . We are confident that the membership of the URWA will join us in this fight to PRESERVE DEMOCRACY in the labor movement once the facts are known!"

* * *

The U. S. Supreme Court last week in a 7 to 2 decision upheld the findings of two lower federal courts approving portal-to-portal pay for iron miners. This decision requiring that iron miners be paid for underground travel time to the working face of a mine is also expected to affect favorably 530,000 coal miners who last year fought four national strikes to win portal-to-portal pay.

In the majority opinion, written by Justice Frank Murphy, there is a vivid description of the hazards of underground travel. The miners ride to their places of work in "ore skips" and often are forced to jump several feet from the loading platforms into the skip, which frequently results in injuries.

The men have to ride bent over to avoid striking their heads against low ceilings and beams. "Thus they ride in 'spoon-fashion,' with bodies contorted and heads drawn below the level of the skip top. Broken ribs, injured arms and legs and bloody heads often result; even fatalities are not unknown."

These long rides are made "in the dark maloderous shafts" and "the exacting and dangerous conditions in the mine shafts stand as a mute, unanswerable proof that the journey from and to the portal involves continuous physical and mental exertion as well as hazards to life and limb."

* * *

Delegates from the aircraft locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers recently held a national conference in Chicago to draft a wage program for the industry. Presiding at the conference was UAW Vice President Richard T. Frankensteen, director of the union's aircraft division. He came to national notoriety when he supported the use of federal troops against the striking North American Aircraft workers in 1941 and is now on the extreme right-wing of the national leadership in an alliance with the Stalinists.

The conference adopted a six-point program of wage demands, including a general industry-wide wage raise. The only thing the conference didn't do is draft a program of effective union action to win the demands.

The UAW national leaders are very handy with fancy palaver, conferences, programs, plans and general big talk. But when it comes to action, all of it is directed against the workers themselves, as witness the International Board's recent resolution threatening punitive measures against members and locals who strike or otherwise actively protest against company provocations and discriminations.

* * *

The capitalist press which gets whipped up into a lather every time union workers resist the decisions of the pro-corporation War Labor Board is displaying heroic restraint with respect to the latest defiance of the WLB by the open shop Montgomery Ward & Company.

John A. Barr, labor relations director of the company, last week flatly informed the WLB that the company will not comply with the Board's directive ordering a renewal of the old contract with the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers pending an NLRB decision on collective bargaining representation.

Barr contended that WLB decisions are "merely appeals to public opinion." That's not the way the workers "heerd it," since the WLB increasingly invokes punitive measures against unionists and unions which resist the raw deals they have been getting from the WLB. As far as "Monkey" Ward is concerned, the WLB hasn't even resorted to "public appeal" since its directive of—January 15.

* * *

"In the main, the Baruch plan is a blueprint for another return to 'normalcy' and on its face is merely another drive by free enterprisers to 'get the government out of business' and the country back into the disastrous groove of cartels and monopolies," declares a resolution recently adopted by the National Executive Board of the CIO Textile Workers Union.

This resolution goes far beyond the position of the Murrays and Greens that the Baruch monopoly "grab-all" plan is OK except that it excludes them from its administrative set-up. The TWU statement assails the Baruch plan as "a pattern for a return to 'business as usual'" which "fails in almost every respect to meet the social and economic needs of the common people of the U. S."

* * *

Woodpulp and chemical concerns in Michigan have been using German prisoners of war as a source of cheap labor and to undercut the union wage scales of the CIO International Woodworkers Union. Now, according to the **International Woodworker**, March 22, the German prisoners have put "squarely behind the eight-ball. . . the bosses who thought they saw a source of profit in cheap prison labor."

According to the articles of the Geneva conference, these prisoners must be paid regular wages for labor performed, the rate in the area being fixed at 84 cents a day. **"Theoretically, such prisoners . . . will produce wood amounting to several times that much in a day's work, which would represent a tidy profit for the employers,"** reports the Woodworker. "To the dismay of local operators, however, the Germans, who rapidly acquired the knowledge that 12 'sticks' a day amounts to 84 cents, have emphatically declined to cut any more than that amount."

Campaign For 3,000 New 'Militant' Readers Off To A Flying Start

The nation-wide Militant Subscription Campaign launched April 1 for the purpose of obtaining 3,000 new subscribers is off to a good start. During the next three months our agents and readers will have the opportunity of introducing their shopmates and friends to The Militant through this introductory offer of 13 issues for 25c.

Communications received from our agents show by their careful and thorough preparation in getting local campaigns underway that they are aware of the political importance of this campaign.

READING AND FLINT FIRST TO SEND IN SUBS

John, Organizer for Reading: **"I am not going to try to say in many words what we all think about our great six-page paper. As one worker expressed himself, 'Oh boy, a six-page Militant.' To us that gives you an idea how we all feel about this great step forward. Not only do we accept the quota for 30 subs but we are going to pay you in advance for them. That is how much confidence we have in the six-page Militant.**

"Enclosed are 12 subs. Please mail us the difference in cards."

J. Thorne, Flint Organizer: "Herewith is $2 for two 6-month subs to **The Militant.** This gives us an early and we hope an auspicious, start on the Militant Sub Campaign."

* * *

NEW YORK LOCAL RAISES ITS QUOTA

George Grant, Organizer of New York Local, states: "The New York City Committee thinks the quota of 500 new readers in the national campaign for 3,000 introductory subs is too low. The New York membership can and will do better than that. The City Committee, therefore, is submitting to the membership a city-wide plan of action recommending a substantial increase in the quota assigned to the New York Local. As soon as the membership acts upon the New York Local sub campaign plans we will notify you of the quota we have set for ourselves and the details of our plan of action.

"We intend to tackle this national campaign with the same energy and enthusiasm as was demonstrated in the $15,000 - 15th Anniversary Fund drive."

OTHER BRANCHES ACCEPT QUOTAS

A. Lynn, Literature Director of Los Angeles Local: "Please send us 400 self-addressed postage-paid 25c subscription cards. The card, by the way, is a most attractive one. Although ordering in this quantity immediately means that our bill will be quite high for a time, I feel that it is best to have all the blanks around so that there will be no delay caused by our having first to send you a request and then your sending us the additional cards."

E. Logan, Literature Agent for Detroit: "Received your letter on the new 3-month subs for **The Militant** and feel we'll be able to do really well in getting subs. We accept the quota of 300."

B. Forrest, Literature Agent for Chicago: "The branch voted to accept its quota of 200 new subscriptions in the national campaign. As a starter, will you send us cards to cover 100 subscriptions."

R. Haddon, Literature Agent for San Francisco: **"We accept the quota of 150 new subscriptions to The Militant. We have agreed to postpone our previously planned 'longshore' work in order to take an active part in this most important campaign. With our previous experience in 'pioneering' this trial sub work, we are confident we can come out on top in this campaign."**

L. Kelly, Organizer for Seattle: "Forward 150 sub cards immediately."

B. Barber, Literature Agent for Boston: "We accept the quota of 100 subs assigned to us as our part of the campaign for 3,000 new subscriptions to **The Militant** within the next three months. Please send us 25 cards."

Harry R., Organizer of Newark: "We are accepting our quota of 80 subs, but we anticipate getting at least 150 before the end of the campaign. Four special branch mobilizations are planned which will be devoted exclusively to the sale of 25c subs in door-to-door work and the visiting of shop contacts who have not yet subscribed to the paper."

Albert S., Literature Agent for Milwaukee: "The subscription cards are very fine in appearance. While our quota is a bit stiff, we will do our very best."

A. West, Literature Agent for Toledo: **"We accept our quota of 30 subs and request you to send us 30 self-addressed postage-paid 25c sub cards. We plan to offer a prize such as a new book, possibly Cannon's 'History of American Trotskyism' to the one obtaining the most subs in the 3-month campaign.** Of course, this isn't all worked out yet but we want to make the campaign interesting among ourselves."

WITH THE SPIRIT AND DETERMINATION EXPRESSED IN THESE LETTERS, THE MILITANT SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN PROMISES TO BE AN ACHIEVEMENT OF WHICH WE CAN BE PROUD.

SCOREBOARD

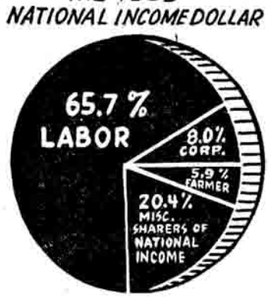
Branch	Quota	Branch	Quota
Akron	40	Pittsburgh	10
Allentown	15	Plentywood	10
Bayonne	50	Quakertown	10
Boston	100	Reading	30
Buffalo	50	Rochester	15
Chicago	200	San Diego	50
Cleveland	50	San Francisco	150
Detroit	300	Seattle	150
Flint	15	St. Louis	20
Los Angeles	400	St. Paul	50
Milwaukee	15	Texas	10
Minneapolis	200	Toledo	30
Newark	80	Youngstown	50
New Haven	25	Members-at-Large and Friends	345
New York	500		3000
Philadelphia	30		

STEEL BARONS GRAB HUGE WAR PROFITS

(Continued from page 1)

barons in the form of so-called "reserves for depreciation, depletion and amortization" which soared 62 percent from 1939 to 1942.

The brief proves that the steel corporations can pay all the wage increases demanded and still make more profits than in the pre-war years. Wages are part of costs, paid before taxes, and the WLB itself has stated in the Little Steel case, contrary to the contentions of the corporations, that "to propose that wages should be affected by profits after taxes is to propose that labor's return should be conditioned by the Government's impost on industry."



Actually, as the brief shows specifically in the steel industry, the federal tax bills have "protected the vast accumulation of corporate profits and preserved many special privileges and benefits. In spite of the hue and cry that corporations are being taxed beyond endurance, the facts demonstrate that corporate profits, after taxes, are beyond any peacetime level."

Under the present tax law, the corporations are guaranteed "normal" profits for two years after the war, no matter if they operate at as low as 40 percent capacity and regardless of their losses. Post-war tax refunds ensure continuous big profits to the steel companies, even if half the steel workers are walking the breadlines.

If U. S. Steel production declined to 40 percent of capacity, it can get $49,200,000 from tax rebates—that is, from the pockets of the workers who pay the taxes. Bethlehem Steel could get $17,588,000; Republic Steel, $11,616,000; the industry as a whole, $122,153,000.

"An industry, like steel, with more than one and one-third billion dollars in resources," concludes the USA-CIO brief, "earning more than three-quarters of a billion dollars a year in profits before taxes, and with large portions of federal taxes refundable can surely meet the **union's requested wage adjustment of less than a quarter of a billion dollars and the other requests of the union which amount to approximately 104 million dollars.**"

STEEL UNION PROVES WORKERS RECEIVING INADEQUATE WAGES

(Continued from page 1)

month for utilities, ice and fuel; $16 a month for household maintenance and equipment; $2.70 a week for transportation, all but 42 cents for going to and from work; $1.66 a month for recreation, mostly for newspapers and magazines; $2.75 a week for tobacco and liquor; $10.82 per month for medical care.

The steel workers' brief stressed particularly the failure of the administration and Congress to fullfill the promised "stabilization" of profits and prices, as well as wages. The brief recalls that the Little Steel formula was based upon Roosevelt's 7-point program before Congress in April 1942, which included stiff taxes on corporate profits, a $25,000 salary limitation and price freezing.

A year later, although Congress had kicked out of the window all measures to limit profits and salaries or hold down prices, Roosevelt issued his infamous "hold - the - line" wage freeze order.

"The economic events since April 1942, reveal the most shocking injustices perpetrated on American workers," charges the USA-CIO brief. "Wage stabilization, as one point of the program, was immediately put into effect by the National War Labor Board. By executive order and the administrative policies of the Board, wage stabilization was studiously transformed into a national wage freeze."

In addition to the general 17 cents an hour wage increase, the union is seeking a number of other improvements, including; 1. a guaranteed weekly and annual wage; 2. a bonus for steel workers in the armed forces; 3. dismissal pay; 4. sick leave with pay; 5. a shift differential for those on night shifts; 6. six holidays with pay; 7. liberalized vacations with pay; 8. equal pay for equal work throughout the industry; 9. minimum pay for learners; 10. improved health insurance; 11. maintenance of membership and the dues check-off.

A particularly strong case was made for the guaranteed yearly wage and dismissal pay, in view of the guaranteed profits the government will provide the corporations for two years after the war and the big retirement pensions the corporation heads have voted themselves.

RESCIND NO-STRIKE PLEDGE

(Continued from page 1)

Rouge Credit Union urging a conference of all UAW-CIO locals in the Detroit area to demand a special UAW Convention to rescind the no-strike pledge. The Stone-Yost announcement followed a stormy meeting of the Ford Aircraft Unit which adopted the demand to rescind the no-strike pledge after the Ford management victimized 121 union militants.

The March 26 membership meeting of the Briggs local also voted unanimously for a strike vote under the Smith-Connally Bill and designated April 16 as the date for a special meeting at the Cass Technical High School to implement this vote.

There is growing sentiment in other UAW Locals for the revocation of the no-strike pledge which was foisted upon the unions by the top officialdom. Signs are multiplying that other local unions are ready to follow the example of the Briggs and Ford workers. The UAW bureaucrats are becoming panicky before the rising discontent of the rank and file. They have placed this question as one of the main topics of discussion at the special meeting of the full Executive Board to be held in New York City. **The rank and file militants of the UAW are beginning to realize however that they themselves must take the initiative and coordinate their activity for a united effort to break through the straitjacket of the Little Steel formula.**

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

San Francisco Carmen Given Run-around In Wage Dispute

By Robert Chester

SAN FRANCISCO, March 31—San Francisco motormen and conductors of the Municipal Railway Line stopped work Sunday, March 26 to hold a "meeting" and discuss the refusal of Mayor Lapham to grant wage increases recommended by the Board of Supervisors. The men threatened to stay off the job and "meet continuously until everyone was heard from" in an effort to win their demands. Only the promise of ten of the eleven supervisors to pass the wage increase over the mayor's veto prompted the men to call off the "meeting" and return to work. This apparently clear-cut solution now appears to be merely another maneuver in the anti-labor maneuverings of the city administration.

The transit situation in San Francisco is, to put it mildly, chaotic. There are two trolley systems, one privately owned and one city owned. Each system charges a different fare, 5c for the municipal and 7c. for the Market Street line. Salaries of the workers also vary, with higher wages prevailing on the Municipal line.

The Market Street employes conducted a long struggle to win wage increases equal to those of the Municipal line, an increase amounting to 7½c. to 10c. per hour. The case was brought before the War Labor Board two months ago, and was decided in favor of the men. The company appealed the case on the grounds that the raises exceeded the Little Steel formula. In spite of the threat of strike by the men the case dragged on and on through the courts.

TWO FACTORS

Two other complicating factors enter into the dispute. First the Market Street Line has been dickering for the past few years to sell the line to the city. **The asking price has been so outrageously high that all past attempts for ratification by the voters have failed. The company has in the meantime allowed its equipment and facilities to run down. Secondly, the California Railroad Commission after investigating the company's financial affairs ordered the reduction of the fare to 6c. The company immediately took the case to the courts and is in the meantime passing out 1c. refund slips to each passenger to be redeemed when and if the case is settled. Needless to say the majority of the slips will not be redeemed. By this method the company is able to squeeze out an extra income of about $2500 a day.**

Disputes have also been in progress on the Municipal Line. The workers have demanded wage increases from the present maximum of 92½c. to $1.00 and overtime to begin after 40 hours instead of the present 48. They claim that their wage scales are not as high as those in Detroit and other cities in the middle west. The cost of living in San Francisco is as high or higher than any other major war center and the men have felt the economic squeeze.

PERMANENT CRISIS

When the Board of Supervisors O'K'd the union's demands several city, state and government bureaus voiced immediate opposition. Mayor Lapham, former official of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company and a well known supporter of the labor-hating Waterfront Employers Association, attacked the recommendations. The Board quickly backed down and approved a so-called compromise measure which gave no gains whatsoever to the carmen.

The union reacted strongly. Henry Foley, President of the AFL Carmen's Union Local 518 immediately announced the "meeting" for Sunday to protest the "double cross." Sunday morning the men came out solidly. Four hours later after promises by the Supervisors to grant an increase of 5c. per hour instead of the original 7½c., the men returned to work.

This action had another result. On Saturday, the day before the "meeting," the Market Street Line suddenly signed an agreement with its workers granting a raise to the level of the Municipal men. This was an obvious attempt to split the two carmen's unions and prevent further unified action.

MAYOR LAPHAM

Mayor Lapham however, remains adamant against any raises for the men, although he is sponsoring a generous deal with the Market Street Railway. His role as a representative of Big Business has been very clearly exposed. He has been able to stall off the recommendations of the Board of Supervisors until after the April 1 deadline for passage of the wage awards for the fiscal year 1944-45.

The next move is up to the men. So far the labor movement here has displayed much ingenuity in pressing its demands despite the restrictions of the Smith-Connally act and the threats of the Lapham administration. Where men have devised "meetings to discuss" and go on "fishing trips" and hold "prayer meetings to pray for a raise" we can expect many innovations. There will unquestionably be more developments on this case in the coming weeks.

The variety of activity covered by reports from our agents has made this week's correspondence one of extreme interest. The main activity of the branches, of course, has been preparation for the **Militant Subscription Campaign.** This material will appear in the campaign column, but we pass along some of the other interesting reports.

* * *

Toledo: "Please double our present **Militant** bundle order as we will need more for the coming sub campaign and expansion of sub work here. . . We are glad to know of the restoration of second-class mailing rights which comes at the time of the new sub campaign."

San Pedro: "Increase our **Militant** bundle order by 200 more copies a week."

Seattle: "Please send us regular **Militant** sub blanks. We have about twenty left of all those you sent us recently."

* * *

Newark: "Our latest Red Sunday netted unusually good results. Two comrades canvassing in territory where sample copies of **The Militant** had been distributed brought in eight new subscriptions. In addition, two comrades selling in 'new' territory sold fifty-one copies of 'Wartime Crimes of Big Business' while another team canvassing among sympathizers reported one renewal and several promises to renew. Thirteen assorted pamphlets were sold. They report that one colored sympathizer is so enthused with **The Militant** that he requested sub blanks 'so I can sell **The Militant** to my friends'."

* * *

Chicago: "I wish to say that **The Militant** for the last several months is really good. The variety of the articles and the increased technical beauty of the paper have made it more readable and interesting for popular distribution. I also notice that the writing has become simpler (whether consciously or not) and I think this tendency is good."

* * *

England: "Please convey to the Socialist Workers Party our deepest revolutionary solidarity with the imprisoned leaders. This inspires us with great confidence for the future. As soon as I received the two six-page issues of The Militant **I passed them around the tool benches in the factory where I work and the boys thought they were great stuff. Yes, we are going to build the International and a strong British Section."**

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Trotskyists In Italy Issue Call For Socialist Struggle

Denounce the Betrayals by the Second and Third International; Summon Masses to Fight for Socialist United States of Europe

A very important document has just arrived in this country. It is the Manifesto issued by the Italian Trotskyists in the name of the Provisional National Center which has been constituted for the building of the Communist Internationalist Party (Fourth International). The text of this document is the first definitive proof that the genuine voice of revolutionary socialism is beginning to make itself heard amid the crucial events in Italy.

Calling upon the workers of the world to "unite on the principles of the class struggle," the Manifesto begins by a forthright condemnation of the treachery of the Second and Third Internationals. It states:

"Comrades, we issue this Manifesto in order to make clear our political position and our tasks with regard to the war, and the direction and development of political events. Our task is to show the working class the road to the socialist revolution — the socialist revolution that has been betrayed by the parties of the Second and Third Internationals which, repeating the treachery of 1914-1918, have gone over to the imperialist war camp under the slogan of 'national unity.'

"It is because of this type of politics that the working class of all countries lack revolutionary parties, while the unleashed war continues to starve, convulse and drown the whole world in blood."

Monstrous Deception

The Manifesto then goes on to expose in unambiguous terms the fraud that this is a war of "ideologies":

"It is a monstrous deception to explain the causes and aims of the present war as a conflict between democracy and fascism, in the manner of the parties of the Second and Third Internationals. **It is a lie propagated all over the world, devised by the greed of world finance capital which seeks to divide the workers and the peoples, pitting them against each other in a war that is being fought solely for imperialist aims; a war that cannot solve but only aggravate the problems of the world crisis.**

"The causes and aims of the war have nothing to do with an ideological struggle between democracy and fascism. The present conflict, a sequel to 1914-1918, constitutes the most dramatic event in modern history, and should be viewed within the framework of an entire epoch, an event predetermined by the insoluble crisis of world capitalist economy in its imperialist putrefaction."

The "democrats" and fascists alike pursue essentially the same aims. In the words of the Italian Trotskyists:

"The present war involves the clash of two powerful camps, both with well-defined aims. Both war camps are torn by internal conflicts which threaten with the further development of events to rip them apart, with each power struggling for its own interests, pursuing its own aims."

Hypocritical Pretenses

"Despite their hypocritical pretenses of democracy, the Anglo-American powers, basing themselves on their control of world markets, colonies and shipping lanes, are conducting with all their tremendous resources a war of conquest and for the establishment of their hegemony.

"The Axis powers — fascist to the marrow — are likewise fighting an imperialist war in a desperate attempt to upset the old balance of power, to impose a redivision of the wealth of the world and to obtain access to the world markets, colonies and shipping lanes."

Then follows a brief paragraph with regard to the Soviet Union. This part constitutes the vaguest and weakest section of the document, as it fails to draw a distinction between the reactionary program of the Stalin regime and the progressive struggle of the Soviet masses to safeguard the remaining conquests of the October Revolution. The Manifesto leaves the false impression that Stalin is merely an agent of Anglo-American imperialism, while in reality the Kremlin bureaucracy pursues its contradictory aims. The text of this section follows:

Soviet Union

"The Soviet Union, in the United Nations bloc, is bleeding itself white, not for revolutionary aims, but for the aims of Anglo-American imperialism. The promises of a democratic peace, of economic well-being and of liberty made by these Anglo-American democracies and concurred in by Stalin's government, are a deception just as in 1914-1918, and cannot by any means constitute the aims of the proletariat either of the Soviet Union or of any other country."

Warning that unless the workers pursue their socialist goal, reaction will continue to reign, the Manifesto states:

"Whatever the democratic regime of tomorrow may be — it will pave the way for reaction unless capitalism is abolished — it will be merely a capitalist government with the velvet glove covering the mailed fist against the proletariat."

The only way out is the road of socialism. The concluding section of the Manifesto calls upon the workers to resume their struggle for socialism despite and against the betrayals of the Social-Democrats and the Stalinists:

"The Second International has betrayed these socialist aims since 1914. The Third International has followed suit in the present war. Having organized and directed the defeats of the European workers, it has dragged the entire world proletariat including the Soviet Union into a useless war.

"Workers! It is necessary to struggle against the war without let-up, in order to achieve a just peace for all peoples."

The key lesson of our entire epoch — the urgent need and the paramount role of the proletarian party — is underscored:

"To accomplish these tasks a strong and disciplined Bolshevik-Leninist revolutionary party is necessary. Without revolutionary doctrine and a class party, the proletariat will come out of the war crushed by the treacherous politics of the Second and Third Internationals.

The Struggle

"The struggle for the building of the Internationalist Communist Party and for a Fourth International is the fundamental task of the vanguard of the proletariat; the sole condition for guiding the workers in the struggle for power, in the abolition of the capitalist state, and the construction of a socialist economy in Italy and the Socialist United States of Europe.

"To the social-patriotic Committee of National Liberation of the 'Sforzas', must be counterposed class organizations, the councils of workers, peasants and soldiers. **To the capitalist slogans against a king — with or without a regency — a policy that serves only to safeguard the financiers, the industrialists, the church hierarchy, the landowners — in short, capitalism — must be counterposed the demand for a constituent assembly on the basis of freedom of the press, of assembly, of the right to strike, increases in wages, bread, the right to work, land to the peasants, and other slogans to prepare the rising of the proletariat, to pave the way for the socialist revolution in Italy and in the world."**

The Manifesto which bears the signature of Rolando, Secretary of the Provisional Center; and which is dated Bari, December 15, 1943, concludes with the following slogans:

"Down with Fascism! Down with Capitalism!

"Long Live the Socialist United States of Europe, United with the Workers of the World!

"Long Live the Workers Revolution in Italy!

"Long Live the Fourth International!"

The strength of the French underground is well illustrated in this picture, taken when underground fighters marched through Oyonnax, France, on their way to hold memorial ceremonies. Faces of cheering townspeople are blacked out to prevent reprisals by the Nazis.

Kremlin Makes Plans To Knife Italian Revolution

By James Cowan

Stalinist policy in Italy, following upon Moscow's action in establishing diplomatic relations with the regime of Badoglio-King Victor Emmanuel, is taking shape in the sinister form of a reactionary plot against the revolutionary movement of the insurgent Italian masses.

M. Ercoli, general secretary of the Italian Communist Party and well-known as an agent of Stalin's G.P.U., has revealed the nature of the Stalinist policy. It follows the pattern made familiar during the Spanish civil war in which the Stalinist agencies combined with the most reactionary political cliques for the purpose of strangling the Spanish revolution.

Upon his arrival in Naples last week, after having spent 18 years in the Soviet Union where he performed every dirty task assigned him by the Kremlin bureaucracy, Ercoli announced a program to be presented to the Italian Committee of National Liberation, calling for:

1. A "united front of democratic, liberal and anti-fascist forces."

2. Formal assurance that "the problem of state institutions" would be solved only by the entire nation through the convocation of a constituent assembly—after the war.

3. A new temporary government "deriving its strength and authority from the support of the great mass parties" and "capable of organizing a genuinely great war effort of the whole country, including primarily the creation of a strong Italian army to fight the Germans."

NO EXPLANATION

Abandoning without a word of explanation the previous opposition of the Italian Stalinists to Badoglio and the King, Ercoli declared that until after the war "we consider the King to be not a person but an institution and therefore there is no question of changing this institution now."

The Italian workers certainly never regarded the King as just a "person." To them the monarchy and all its aides and supporters were also an "institution"—one which was and is symbolic of the capitalist system and of the fascist regime to which that system gave rise. In their fight against this symbol they have shown their determination to end that system and all it stands for.

The Stalinists, however, have ranged themselves openly on the side of the monarchist clique which the workers have steadily refused to tolerate, and on the side of the Allied imperialists without whose aid the clique and its supporters, the capitalists of Italy, would long since have been hurled into the garbage can of history.

In Algiers, while en route to Italy, Ercoli made a statement in which he said: "I must first of all express my gratitude to the Allied authorities who are giving me the possibility once more to take my place in my country and in my party." No word of gratitude to the Italian working-class whose action in smashing Fascism made his return to Italy possible!

STALINIST AGENTS

The Allied imperialists know what they are about. Stalinism has become a most valuable weapon in the arsenal of imperialism. Everywhere the Stalinists can be relied upon to mislead and disorient the workers, to stab them in the back and betray their just struggles. **It is one of the main preoccupations of the Kremlin to prevent social revolution, for a revolution anywhere would undermine, and help in the eventual destruction of, the counter-revolutionary clique which rules in Moscow. The Allied imperialists understand this. That is why they facilitated Ercoli's journey to Italy.**

The Italian workers desire an end to the imperialist war which is reducing their country to a shambles. Ercoli takes on the job of keeping them tied to the Allied war machine as previously Mussolini had them harnessed to the Axis war chariot.

"We are against anything which would weaken the sacred struggle (read imperialist war) which we must carry on for our complete liberation from the shameful regime of Hitlerite occupation," Ercoli told an interviewer. Here, written plainly for all to see, is an announcement that the Stalinists intend to conduct a campaign of slander, intimidation, threats and even murder against every oppositionist element in the workers' ranks. Such oppositionists will be branded as "Trotskyite fascists" if they refuse to fall in line. **The Stalinist Daily Worker issued several months ago ominous threats against political opponents in Italy. Now Ercoli, one of Stalin's GPU agents is sent to Italy, to personally direct operations.**

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

What is now in progress in Italy is a gigantic attempt to disorient, disorganize and throttle the whole movement of the revolutionary masses, to deliver the masses, bound and gagged, to the forces of capitalist counter-revolution. Badoglio and his monarchist generals proved impotent to halt the resistance. The Allied occupation forces are confronted more and more with active hostility and opposition. Now come the Stalinist misleaders, and attempt to use their prestige, to shunt off the struggle of the masses and shackle them behind the military dictatorship of Badoglio and the King. The Stalinists are attempting to build a peoples' front in Italy on the broadest possible basis—to unite monarchists, fascist officials, brass hats, capitalist politicians—everybody except revolutionary workers. The "peoples' front" in Spain proved a noose for the Spanish revolution. Now the Stalinists are attempting to resurrect it on Italian soil.

The Italian workers have this incomparable advantage over their Spanish brethren who were knifed in the back by Stalin's counter-revolutionary mafia: they are forewarned and thus better able to defend themselves against the foul plottings of the Stalinist machine.

REVOLUTIONISTS' DUTY

The Italian revolutionists now face the duty of exposing Stalinism before the Italian masses for the counter-revolutionary force that it is, they have the duty of destroying all Stalinist influence in the Italian labor movement. This is a necessary pre-condition for the health and the future growth and success of the Italian socialist revolution.

To the treacherous Stalinist proposals for a people's front with Badoglio and the King, the revolutionary socialists must counterpose the demand for united workers' councils of action, to struggle for the needs of the masses against the capitalist government of Badoglio and the King.

The Italian masses want bread, security and peace. They will win these objectives only in the struggle for the socialist revolution, against the Anglo-American imperialists, against the Italian Capitalist and Monarchist cliques and against their Stalinist agents.

German Communists

Despite more than ten years of effort by Hitler's Gestapo to eliminate Communism from the political map of Germany, the movement still lives and carries on a vigorous activity, according to a **New York Times** dispatch from Stockholm which quotes "private information from a reliable source."

Nor is it just "Communism" of the bowdlerized, social-patriotic Stalinist type, for according to the dispatch "the new crop of German communists are convinced internationalists," which fact, it is pointed out, "may perhaps make cooperation with Moscow difficult."

This report is of the highest significance. It means not only that a decade of Nazi terror has failed utterly to extirpate the workers' revolutionary movement, but that the efforts of the Stalinists during the same period have likewise failed to uproot the ideas of socialist internationalism from the ranks of the vanguard.

The report goes on to state that the Gestapo has captured and executed some of the participants in this new revolutionary movement, but only "small fry." The movement, however, continues its activities through secret "cells" which "sabotage war industries and agitate among foreign workers."

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Churchill Vote Reveals Growth Of Social Crisis

By Ralph Graham

Winston Churchill's government suffered its first parliamentary defeat last week when the House of Commons, by a vote of 117 to 116, passed an amendment to the government's Education Bill which provided equal pay for men and women teachers. Churchill's cabinet met and decided to make the issue one of "confidence" in the government by resubmitting it to the House, which then proceeded to adopt the bill minus the amendment by a vote of 425 to 23.

Taken in conjunction with other recent developments, particularly the coal miners' strike and the election of independent left-wing candidates, this parliamentary incident shows the extent to which Britain's artificial national unity is breaking down before the realities of the class struggle. At the same time, Churchill's demand for a vote of confidence upon a relatively minor domestic issue indicates the fear of the British capitalist class that the smallest breach in the structure of their rule may release the pent-up floodwaters of social discontent.

"CONFIDENCE" VOTE

Churchill made clear the importance of the issue when he threatened to resign unless Parliament reversed itself. The opposition, including the bulk of the Labor members, promptly tucked their tails between their legs and voted "confidence" in the imperialist government.

For more than four years the British working-class has been tied to the Tory war machine through the "political truce" between the Labor Party and the capitalist parties. The truce is expressed in the coalition government and the inter-party agreement whereby it is understood that the Labor Party does not contest parliamentary elections in constituencies held by the Tories, and vice versa.

As the war has dragged on, however, the conditions of the **British workers have steadily worsened, while the exploiters, the British capitalists, have continued their accustomed lives of luxury with but the slightest of inconveniences. The political truce has meant, in effect, that the workers have had to submerge their own class interests to enable the imperialists to prosecute a war which has brought the workers nothing but misery and hardship.**

THE AWAKENING

The workers have lately been indicating their realization of the true meaning of the political truce. First signs of the awakening were observed in a number of by-elections where they violated the truce and ran their own candidates in Tory-held constituencies, winning the elections hands-down. Then came the great coal strikes, in which the workers fought for improvement of their conditions despite the dire warnings of the capitalists and their government.

These developments were undoubtedly in the foreground of Churchill's mind when, on the issue of the Education Bill, he cracked down vigorously on the spineless opposition by his threat to resign. The fundamental question involved is the growing discontent and rebellion of the workers, their refusal to remain passive objects of exploitation. And the class war cannot be exorcized by a parliamentary vote of confidence in Churchill's government.

The labor skates in the British Parliament may express their confidence in Churchill, but the feeling is not shared by the British workers. The continuing strikes and violations of the political truce on a local scale are conclusive proof of that. **And it is confirmed by the London correspondent of the New York Times who reported on March 30 that "few even among his (Churchill's) most ardent supporters could fail to see he had lost ground as the nation's leader."**

SUSPENSION OF TRUCE

Driven into opposition by the growing pressure of the dissatisfied workers, the Labor Party is now reported to be seeking a partial suspension of the electoral truce with the Tories. According to Frederick Kuh, London correspondent of the **Chicago Sun,** "this is the first move toward the break-up of the coalition government under Prime Minister Churchill, which may nevertheless remain in office until after Germany's defeat. Labor's decision, however, reflects growing popular restiveness, not with the Premier's conduct of the war, but with the slowness of social change and doubts regarding the cabinet's qualifications to lead the country when peace is restored in Europe."

Translated into more direct language, this means that the workers are no longer prepared to submerge their own interests for the sake of the war, the imperialist character of which becomes plainer every day. It means, too, that they do not want to entrust England to capitalist rule.

In line with their entire policy of collaboration with the British capitalists, the labor misleaders are doing all in their power to sidetrack and halt this movement of the British workers toward class independence. **To the proposal for a "partial" suspension of the electoral truce is attached a proviso that the Labor Party agrees to back only those candidates who support the imperialist war. Thus a genuine workers' representative who opposes the slaughter would be fought not only by the Tories and the capitalist class but also by the bureaucrats who control the Labor Party machine.**

TRICKS INEFFECTIVE

In essence, the move toward partial suspension of the electoral truce is designed to prevent a real break between labor and the Tory government. But tricks of this kind will not serve the intended purpose for very long. All the conditions of life drive the workers forward in the direction of independent class action. In the further unfoldment of the struggle the workers will be compelled to break from the labor lieutenants of capitalism, to create a new leadership devoid of any ties with the exploiting class, and to move onto the road of the socialist revolution in alliance with their class brothers on the European continent.

The British workers unquestionably desire the defeat of Hitler and the crushing of hated Nazism. Yet the truce with the capitalists into which they were forced by their "leaders", has served only to prop up Hitler's power. Pointing to the "unity" of the British nation, Hitler demanded and has largely been able to maintain the "unity" of the German nation for the accomplishment of his imperialist war aims. **No greater blow could be struck at Hitlerism than by a clean break of the British working-class from the leading-strings of the Tory-capitalists. It is only along this road that both British and German imperialism can be vanquished, the frightful war brought to an end, and a vista of peace and plenty through socialism opened up for all mankind.**

British Strike Wave Spreads As Workers Defy Repression

By LOUIS BONN

Britain's greatest militant labor upsurge of the past 18 years again threatens to spread, as over 135,000 coal miners and shipyard workers continue their strikes in defiance of the Churchill government's army draft threats and the frantic back-to-work appeals of their own traitorous union leaders.

Last week some 45,000 shipbuilding workers employed in the huge Tyneside, Clydeside and Belfast, North Ireland, shipyards joined the strike ranks of the 90,000 South Yorkshire coal miners who walked out over two weeks ago.

Government officials termed the current strike movement the "worst labor crisis" since the 1926 General Strike and spokesmen of the Fuel Ministry are voicing the fear that the Yorkshire struggle may spread amongst all the 700,000 British coal miners.

So far the government has been powerless to lure the strikers back to work with big promises and miserly concessions. The government is now trying to combine intimidation and still bigger promises in order to break the strikes without sacrificing the profit interests of the British owning class.

The strike of 25,000 Tyneside and Clydeside shipbuilders and engineers apprentices, protesting a strikebreaking attempt to send thousands of them into the coal pits under the Essential Works Order, has evoked the threat by the government to draft them into the armed forces.

The British capitalist press, which at first described the strikes as "spontaneous" and "without any definite leadership or program," have opened up a smear campaign charging that the strikes are being fomented by "subversive elements," including Trotskyists, and report that Scotland Yard detectives are seeking out the strike leaders. The threat of a witch-hunt and prosecution is intended to further intimidate the strikers.

INTENSIFIED WRATH

Meanwhile, as a counter to the miners' demands for nationalization of the coal industry, the real underlying issue of their struggle, a group of 50 Conservative members of Parliament have put forth a hastily drafted "Miners' Charter" promising year-round employment at a minimum weekly wage through a scheme for rationalizing the coal industry by concentrating it into the hands of a private monopoly. The real purpose of the plan is to attain increased production on the "American model" with hundreds of thousands less miners, which would result in wholesale unemployment.

Mine union officials only intensified the wrath of their striking members when they publicly termed the Yorkshire strike "sabotage and stabbing the Government in the back." These officials last week spread the false report that the miners had accepted the grudging concessions offered by the Churchill Fuel Ministry in answer to the miners' demands for rectification of their grievances rising out of the government's Porter Commission wage awards.

These wage awards, granted last January, rejected all of the miners' basic demands and instituted minimum wages which resulted in actual wage cuts for many miners and no gains for most. The "concessions" offered since as a consequence of the recurrent mine strikes have only made the miners angrier, since they contained several shyster pieces of additional chiseling on the miners' wages, such as requiring payment for household coal the miners previously received without cost.

The last big upsurge of British labor resulting from the conditions of the first World War did not begin until a year after the Armistice, culminating in the historic 1926 General Strike. Today, British labor has begun another historic struggle in the very midst of World War II.

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Seventeenth Anniversary Of Chinese Revolution Recalls Role Of Chiang Kai-Shek As Executioner Of The Masses

By Li Fu-jen

In these days when the magic wand of imperialist propaganda changes bloody dictators and reactionary monarchs into champions of democracy and liberty (provided, of course, they have entered the war camp of the self-styled "United Nations") it is well that we remind ourselves and the workers, of the real character of these men and the political regimes which they represent.

Chiang Kai-shek, butcher of the Chinese masses and head of a reactionary semi-colonial government, is a case in point. On April 12 it will be 17 years since Chiang, helped by the same imperialists who today have dressed him up in the garb of a "defender of democracy," staged a coup d'etat at Shanghai which was the opening assault in a savage campaign that exterminated a popular revolution of the Chinese masses. The entire history of Chiang's regime is written in the blood and agony of the Chinese people.

Driven by the direst economic necessity, and inspired by the flaming example of Bolshevik Russia, the oppressed of China had risen to take over the land and the factories and to drive the imperialist freebooters from their country. Stalin proved to be the grave-digger of their revolution and Chiang—the executioner.

From the spring of 1925, which was marked by the great strike movements at Shanghai, Hongkong and Canton, the revolution had proceeded in an ever-ascending curve. Workers who had never known what it was to belong to an organization flowed into trade unions by the hundreds of thousands. Peasants formed village organizations. Class-conscious proletarians by the thousand entered the youthful Communist Party.

This elemental movement of the masses took on the aspect of a tidal wave. The most advanced revolutionary ideas were caught up by the awakened Chinese toilers, who manifested the utmost determination to carry them into action. The imperialists trembled for their vested interests and sent their warships and troops to the principal ports. The native exploiters, who hoped to use the masses for the purpose of extracting concessions from the imperialists, viewed with misgiving the process by which a movement which began as a campaign against foreign domination, took on more and more of a class character, with the masses directing their blows at both foreign and native exploiters.

Capitalist Class Leader

Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the native capitalist class, sought to vanquish the regional military chiefs who were the puppets and agents of the various imperialist powers, and unify the country under a national capitalist government.

To liquidate the regional militarists Chiang needed mass support. The masses, however, would rally only to a party with a radical program, or which they believed had one. They were following the Communist Party. It was therefore necessary to use the Communist Party. Through his own party, the Kuomintang, Chiang entered into a so-called "united front" agreement with the C. P.

On the direct instructions of the Comintern, dominated at that time by Stalin and Bukharin, the Third Conference of the Chinese Communist Party, in June, 1923, raised the slogan: "All work for the Kuomintang!" And its Manifesto proclaimed that "the Kuomintang should be the central force of the national revolution and should stand in the leading position."

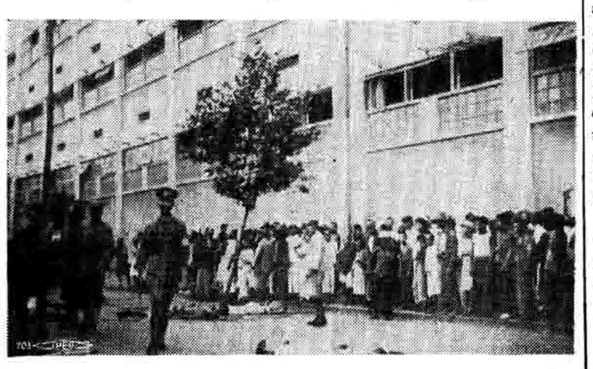
This classic reformist dogma, which Lenin fought against in Russia, meant loss of the political and organizational independence of the C. P. and the subordination of the class interests of the toilers to the class interests of their exploiters and oppressors. The C. P., instead of becoming the revolutionary leader of the exploited people, became a miserable political appendage of the Chinese capitalist class. Never before had a party with a great revolutionary mission so shamefully abdicated its historic role.

Throughout the years 1925-27 the Chinese Communists acted as a brake upon the developing revolution. When peasants rose up to seize the land from reactionary landlords, the Communists restrained them. Otherwise, don't you see, the landlords would be antagonized and the "national united front" disrupted. When workers went on strike against Chinese capitalists, the Communists acted similarly, for the capitalists, like the landlords, were not to be antagonized.

Chiang Advances on Shanghai

In the summer of 1926 Chiang Kai-shek embarked on the great northward expedition from Canton to the Yangtsze, subduing local militarists who would not acknowledge his leadership, making deals with those who did. To the accompaniment of this expedition, which had the effect of rousing more millions of the oppressed, the Chinese revolution moved toward its tragic climax.

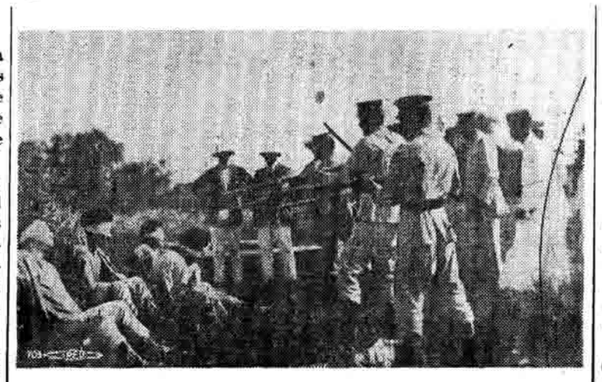
On February 17, 1927, Chiang's forces had advanced to within easy reach of Shanghai, where they were expected to clash with the local militarist, Sun Chuan-fang. The workers of this great industrial center greeted the approach of the nationalist troops with a general strike. Within 48 hours more than 350,000 workers were on the streets. The city was stopped dead. The slogans of this great political strike reflected unfortunately the class-collaborationist character of the C. P. program: "Support the Northern Expeditionary Army!", "Overthrow Sun Chuan-fang!", "Hail Chiang Kai-shek!"



The scene above was typical of hundreds throughout Chinese cities in the bloody terror that followed Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'etat. The slain bodies lying on the street before a large textile mill in Shanghai are those of "suspected" workers dragged from the factory and shot dead. Their fellow workers stand by to pay their last respects, as a Kuomintang policeman, pistol still in hand, stalks arrogantly from the scene.

Bound by their Moscow-dictated pact with Chiang, the Communists grew fearful of this great mass movement. They failed to give it leadership and facilitated the breaking of the strike by Sun Chuan-fang's police and armed gangsters. Many of the best worker-militants were captured and executed. The workers armed themselves and fought back against the police terror, and this defensive movement, rapidly passing over to the offensive, compelled the Communist Party leaders to make plans for an armed uprising. They had no intention however of establishing workers' power. They simply intended to crush Sun Chuan-fang—and turn Shanghai over to the "great liberator" Chiang Kai-shek.

The uprising took place on February 22 and was bloodily suppressed. Fighting in the streets continued until the 24th and then died out. Chiang had his troops halt some distance from Shanghai to enable the Shanghai garrison commander to carry out a bloodletting of the workers. Later he rewarded this butcher with the command of one of his armies.



A common scene after counter-revolution had triumphed at Shanghai. Militant workers and intellectuals face an executioner's firing squad on the outskirts of the city. The white-gowned figure at the right is the magistrate. The helmeted men in the background are white officials of the Shanghai International Settlement.

Trained Worker's Militia

However, the events of February 19-24 were merely the prelude to a vastly greater attempt by the Shanghai workers to establish their own power. They had been defeated but not crushed. Their organizations were still intact. March 21 was set as the date for a new strike and insurrection. The Chinese Communists, young, inexperienced were completely disoriented by Stalin's policies and instructions. They were carried along however by the surging mass movement and found themselves in a position where, despite Stalin's orders, they were forced to lead the insurrection, even though half-heartedly. They still planned to turn Shanghai over to Chiang after the workers had captured it.

The military nucleus of the insurrection was a trained workers' militia of about 5,000 men divided into squads of twenty and thirty. For arms, at the beginning, they had only 150 Mauser pistols—less than one per squad. The others fought against the police and soldiery armed only with clubs, knives and axes. But—testimony to their magnificent will to win and their matchless courage and ingenuity—by the late afternoon of March 22 all of the city—except the foreign concessions—was in the hands of the revolutionary workers who had fought down and vanquished (where they did not win over) the police and soldiers of the other side. A white flag over the North Station signalized the end of the last pocket of resistance to the triumphant workers. The sounds of rifle fire gave way to the crackle of fireworks and the shouts of workers celebrating their victory.

After it was all over, the First Division of Chiang's nationalist troops reached the city. Their commander Hsueh Yoh, despite contrary orders from Chiang, had been compelled by pressure of his own ranks to come to the help of the workers, but by the time the troops arrived, the workers, unaided, had done the job of sending Sun Chuan-fang into limbo.

Chiang himself reached Shanghai on March 26. His first caller was Hwang Ching-yung, gangster leader of the notorious secret society known as the Green Circle which was to play a leading role as executioner of the Shanghai proletariat. His next visitor was T. Patrick Givens, head of the political department of the imperialist police force of the Foreign Settlement, who presented the "anti-imperialist" Chiang with a pass for entering the foreign concession areas and accorded him the privilege of traveling therein with an armed guard. Chiang, for his part, assured Givens that he would "cooperate with the foreign police of Shanghai" and then plunged into conference with his aides and supporters to see how "law and order" could be reestablished.

While Chiang plotted against the workers, preparing to drown in blood the new power which they had organized and which in every respect was preserving order, the workers were being prepared by the Communist Party leaders to welcome Chiang as their liberator, as the leader of the national revolution against imperialism. Stalin had declared Chiang to be "a reliable ally"—one who "will not betray." And although the Chinese Communists, with good reason, had misgivings on this subject, they kept their counsel to themselves.

Conspiracy of Silence

These C. P. leaders were engaged in a conspiracy of silence—a conspiracy to conceal Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary role. Along the route of the northward march from Canton, Chiang had employed reactionary troops in a reign of terror against the peasants in the countryside and the workers in the towns, exterminating revolutionary militants by the thousands with brutish bestiality. Where elements of feudal reaction had been overthrown by the masses in advance of the arrival of Chiang's troops, Chiang restored these elements to power as his vassals—heedless of the fact that Stalin had assigned him the role of leading a national revolution which, among other things, was to liquidate these feudal elements.

The Communist Party leaders could not proclaim these facts, could not expose Chiang's reactionary role—because they were under constantly-reiterated orders from Moscow (which also knew the facts) not to break with Chiang and the Kuomintang, but on the contrary to do everything necessary, including crawling on their bellies before Chiang, to preserve the "national united front."

Trotsky demanded at that time that the Chinese C. P. break with the Kuomintang and assume complete political and organizational independence. That it lead the masses instead of restraining them. That it pursue its own independent program and prepare the workers for the nation-wide seizure of power. On April 3, 1927 Trotsky submitted for publication in the Soviet press an article embodying this program entitled "Class Relations in the Chinese Revolution." It was refused publication under Stalin's orders.

The workers of Shanghai, instead of being aroused to revolutionary vigilance against Chiang's capitalist counter-revolutionary stroke, were being lulled into a feeling of false security by their leaders. While their executioner stood at the very gates of their new citadel of power, the workers, kept in ignorance of Chiang's real role, were preparing to welcome Chiang—as their great liberator!

Chiang's First Division

The First Division of Chiang's army had arrived in Shanghai on March 22 under command of Hsueh Yoh. It was composed of seasoned soldiers deeply conscious of their bond with the revolutionary workers, which explains why they insisted that their commander take them to Shanghai to aid the workers' revolution. Chiang, within a week of his arrival in the city, ordered Hsueh Yoh to remove his troops. The young division commander, himself sympathetic to the workers' cause, appeared before the Central Committee of the C. P. and confided to them his knowledge that Chiang was preparing a counter-revolutionary stroke. He offered to defy Chiang and hold his troops in readiness to aid the workers in crushing any attempt at a coup d'etat.

Demoralized by Moscow's conciliatory policy which called for preserving the "national united front" at all costs, the Chinese Communist Party leaders would not take responsibility for asking Hsueh Yoh to keep his troops in the city in defiance of Chiang. Instead they addressed a humble petition to Chiang asking that the First Division be kept in the city. Chiang's answer was a peremptory order to the young general to move his troops out at once. The troops, lacking any other directive, and having confidence in the judgment of the Communists, departed. Workers' Shanghai lost a precious ally.

From then on Chiang moved swiftly. Piecemeal attacks on the workers by reactionary troops which had replaced the First Division took place all over the city. Workers' pickets—the Chinese equivalent of the Russian Red Guard—were set upon in the streets by soldiers and gangsters. Raids took place on union headquarters. Even the city Kuomintang office, largely under Communist influence, was closed down. The workers were bewildered by these events and thought them due to some misunderstanding. For were they not told that Chiang Kai-shek was their true leader and liberator?

Chiang's Counter-revolution

The counter-revolutionary coup which was to smash the revolution opened on the morning of April 12 when attacks by troops, police and armed gangsters were launched simultaneously against the five proletarian districts of the city. The workers were caught unawares by the turn of events. Too late, their leaders issued a call for a general strike. More than 100,000 workers responded to the call and armed themselves to ward off the attacks of the counter-revolution. It was an unequal struggle whose tragic ending had been predetermined by the false and vacillating policy of the workers' leaders. The Communist Party leaders had done nothing to prepare for the counter-revolutionary stroke while the class enemy was making every possible preparation.

The workers' revolution was shattered and drowned in its own blood. The flower of the militant working-class was slain amid scenes of the wildest savagery. The Chinese bourgeoisie under Chiang's leadership displayed a relentless determination in pursuing its bloody task—a determination that had been conspicuously lacking in the Communist Party leadership which left the workers unprepared and virtually defenseless in face of their mortal foe. Working-class victims were numbered by the thousands. Both in the number of victims and the savage cruelty visited upon the vanquished, the defeated Chinese revolution ranks with the Paris Commune of 1871.

At Canton in December, 1927, the Communist organized an adventurist uprising on the declining wave of the revolution which had been decisively broken at Shanghai eight months earlier. More thousands of victims were added to the lists. Reaction in its most vicious forms stalked the land from one end to the other. Those who did not fall in the first attacks of the counter-revolution were in subsequent years hunted down by Chiang's police. **If they escaped summary execution, it was only to die from incarceration in foul medieval dungeons. Almost an entire revolutionary generation was wiped out. Among them were not only members of the Communist Party, victims of Stalin's monstrous policy of revolutionary betrayal, but many Trotskyists, faithful heroic bearers of the banner of Lenin and Trotsky. Nor has Chiang's reactionary terror ended. It continues still. The prisons of Kuomintang China are crowded with workers, peasants, intellectuals whose only crime has been criticism of Chiang's bloody regime.**

Despite the fearful bloodbath to which Chiang Kai-shek subjected them, China's oppressed masses rose to their feet again when Japan's imperialist armies marched into their country. Pictured here is part of a crowd of 50,000 workers, students and small shopkeepers which gathered in Shanghai on Sept. 26, 1931 to protest the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the treacherous policies of Chiang's government.

The crushing of the Chinese revolution meant a new lease on life for imperialism. It laid China open to attack by the Japanese imperialists and was no negligible factor in the preparation of the present world war. Chiang Kai-shek, the sinister agent of Chinese reaction, is being held up before the world as a "lover of liberty" both by the Allied imperialists and their allies in the Stalinist camp. **But the false mantle of "democracy" cannot hide the infamous deeds of this Chinese Franco. The Chinese masses have not forgotten them. They are a part of history. Only the triumphant Chinese revolution can adequately avenge them.**

THE END OF THE COMINTERN

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Canadian News Letter

The final Agenda of the Ontario Canadian Commonwealth Federation Annual Convention which is being held April 8th week-end in Toronto, has been sent out to the CCF clubs and constituency organizations for discussion and instruction of delegates. Scanning its thirteen pages of resolutions and amendments, even the kindest critic might be pardoned one or two gasps of bewilderment.

Presumably the Ontario CCF stands very close to the threshhold of political power in Ontario. It is the official opposition. Only the loyal support of the defeated Liberal Party and the spineless yes-men of the alleged Labor Progressives (Stalinists to you) gives the present government of Conservative George Drew a majority in the Ontario House. One might expect, therefore, that the Ontario CCF would be girding its loins for the final tussle that should give it a clear majority at the next election. One might look for some evidence of this preparation in the agenda of the Ontario CCF Convention. It would be a disappointing search.

* * *

Five of the thirteen pages of the agenda are taken up with resolutions on the new constitution of the Ontario CCF. Much of the new proposals may be classed as button-polishing.

Even apart from the Provincial Council's new proposals on the Constitution, there is no direct indication anywhere else on the agenda that the Convention recognizes the possibility of a sudden crisis that may precipitate a new election and the CCF's ascent to power. The whole flavor of the agenda is of polite and ladylike loyal opposition. The subjects that are dealt with specifically and which are provincial issues, show no imagination, daring, and very little courage. Some are enough to make a socialist's hair stand on end.

"Provincial" in the very worst sense is the resolution sponsored by the Kingston CCF, deploring the discussion of international issues, on which we have "no first hand knowledge". Maybe the Kingston CCF club should be moved in a body to Berlin or Cassino to get a first hand knowledge of the fact that there is an international capitalist war being waged.

* * *

Short-sighted and cowardly is the resolution, sponsored by three branches, Windsor Central, Perth and North Essex, opposing the CCF's participation in municipal election, "as a result of the recent failures of the CCF in the municipal field." Since the CCF failed to carry the country in the last federal election, why don't they drop out of that field as well?

Sensitive to every breath of criticism from the right, Port Elgin CCF deplores Sunday meetings. Capitalism makes a point of Sunday meetings, by gathering the flock into churches to hear poison against socialism.

Presumably the Youth are fighting the present capitalist war, but there is only one resolution on Youth on the agenda, and that is sponsored by the CCYM of East York. It is encouraging to find there is one section of the Youth Movement still in existence, anyway.

Perth CCF has the honor of sponsoring one of the most reactionary resolutions on the agenda, as well as one of the best resolutions. It advocates immigration "limited to people from the British Isles." The Left Poale Zion amended this with the insertion of "not" before "limited".

The same Perth CCF calls for reduction of the voting age in all elections to 18. It will be interesting to see just what kind of people belong to the Perth CCF.

* * *

Just as the problem of the Youth was handled by one platitudinous resolution, so the other fundamental question of International Cooperation was touched on only by one resolution from the Kirkland Lake CCF. The Provincial Council was too busy stopping up the mice holes in the Constitution to bother with either Youth or such a far-away thing as international relations. But even the Kirkland Lake resolution talks, not of other socialist parties but of our "allies."

Much, no doubt, to the horror of Kingston CCF, India is the subject of an excellent resolution from Central CCF. But then follows three miserable amendments to that resolution which are classics in capitulation to British Imperialism.

The resolution is worth reprinting: "Whereas the leaders of the Indian Congress and many other fighters for Indian independence have been imprisoned and slandered as Japanese spies and fifth columnists, and whereas this demonstrates the methods used by imperialists to maintain their rule and deny four hundred million Indians their inherent right to national freedom, therefore be it resolved that the Ontario CCF condemns these actions and demands the immediate release of all political prisoners as well as the immediate independence of India."

Riverdale CCF would replace "demands" with "urge", would not ask for the release of "all" political prisoners nor Indian independence. Waterloo South would release only "anti-fascist prisoners" and then only "as soon as possible". Trinity asks for the independence of India only "as soon as feasible." The Indians think it is feasible now, Trinity, haven't you heard?

* * *

Of course the Stalinists are on deck, with a variety of resolutions from "Leaside Industrial CCF" — good old proletarian touch, that "Industrial". They give the game away when they ask for close "co-operation" with the Labor Progressive Party, and call upon the CCF to desist from "derogatory remarks" about said party. That's one thing about the Stalinists, they have a great sense of humor. While Tim Buck, Leslie Morris and the rest of the Stalinists stump the country slamming the CCF, the Leaside Industrial CCF Unit, in a spirit of Christian charity asks, nay implores the CCF to turn the other cheek.

We have not touched on many of the brighter sides of the picture. There are several good resolutions calling for steps that will improve the effectiveness of the CCF; notably a daily newspaper, political training schools, a positive line towards returned soldiers. The resolutions on agriculture are practical for the most part, as are many of the specific issues covered in the policy resolutions.

But, in general, it is difficult to feel that the Ontario CCF under its present leadership can wage an effective struggle even for the limited objectives of a provincial program.

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The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

The Role of the Stalinists

The American Communist Party in its early days was the most outspoken champion of the rights of the Negro people.

The members were called at that time "reckless agitators" and "provocateurs" by the reactionary Southern bourbons because their militant program included a demand for complete racial equality. They were accused of attempting to stir up "insurrections" among the millions of disfranchised and oppressed Negroes in the South.

Many pioneer Negro Communists were beaten up and run out of town by gangs of Klansmen when they attempetd to expound their program of emancipation of the working class and suppressed minorities; when they advocated militant methods of struggle by the Negro masses to fight racial segregation and discrimination. In Tennessee, Mississippi and other Southern states these fearless Communist militants were jailed by the ruling-class time and time again for utilizing their right of free speech.

Today, however, it is a known fact that the Communist party. (in blind obedience to Stalin), has actually completely dropped the fight for Negro equality here in America.

This about-face switch in the party policy has been cleverly camouflaged, however, in an attempt to conceal this betrayal from the Negro rank and file party members. Worse still, even though the Negro struggle has been forsaken, attempts are still made to enmesh and befuddle the political freshmen among Negro militants so that they may be sold down the river, all on the grounds of "patriotism" to the American and British imperialists who hold hundreds of millions of our dark-skinned brothers in starving subjection throughout the world.

The average Negro worker or soldier is naturally resentful these days of the kind of treatment he is receiving in this "democracy." He has found out through experience that he cannot gain equality under Capitalism.

He looks with hope and faith to the Communists for salvation, imagining that they are naturally in the forefront in any fight for the underdog. Such is no longer the case.

The Negro Intellectuals are being used to do the dirty work in this betrayal. For example, let us examine some of the contradictory spewings of Ben Davis, Jr., Negro councilman of New York City and member of the Stalinist party. In a recent article in **New Masses** he states: "The Communists identify themselves with the deep indignation of the Negro masses . . . supporting the demands of these masses for the elimination of jim-crow." This is the juicy bait intended to hook the unsuspecting Negro.

In the same article, the betrayal is exposed. It reads: "Now the Communists have, however, sharply dissociated themselves from reckless methods (Davis is speaking here of the March on Washington Movement) . . . and we oppose these methods as harmful to the Negro. . ."

How can this politically anemic hypocrite "dissociate" himself from "reckless" methods and yet even pretend to "support the demands of the masses"? And speaking of recklessness, the unexampled methods of struggle that had to be used by the Russian masses to free themselves from autocratic tyranny symbolize the heritage of real Communism. Even Davis might agree that to call that struggle "reckless" would be treachery—yet this perfidious lackey who admittedly puts himself above "reckless methods" has the undiluted gall to call himself a communist.

Speaking of Randolph, Davis states that **"the leaders of this movement — yielding to provocateur-Trotskyite influence—talked of starting a 'civil disobedience' campaign."** Obviously this gutless brother considers "civil disobedience" too "reckless" a method for him but history proves to any one who reads it, (be he Trotskyist or not), that the real defect with such tactics consists in their pacifist nature: they are not militant enough to be successful.

For example, look at the futility of Ghandi's civil disobedience campaign in India where the British imperialists are still exploiting over 400 millions of starving Indians.

Even from a local point of view the Stalinist terminology is enlightening. "Reckless methods," "provocateur"—these same familiar words used to be applied by the reactionary ruling class to the militant Communists when they called for Negro equality. Now, wonder of wonders, we witness the same slanderous terms employed by those who dare call themselves communists to deride all people who advocate an aggressive fight for Negro rights.

Furthermore, these Stalinists are today repeatedly telling the Negro to forget his struggle now and have "patriotic" faith in the decisions of "Teheran." Nobody, however, seems to know the authentic details concerning this mysterious pact which is supposed to 'deliver us from evil' on some indefinite date in the future. Although neither Stalin, Churchill nor Roosevelt have divulged the results of this secret conference, yet New York Councilman Ben Davis informs us that these three decreed that "Socialism and Capitalism would collaborate in the world of the future." Needless to say, such a paradoxical collaboration, even if "decided upon" by these three men, could never endure because the two forces are incompatible.

However, for the sake of argument, let us suppose "Teheran" could and did assure the continuance of Roosevelt's capitalism here in cooperation with Stalin's regime in Russia. How would the American Negro be affected?

Knowing that American Capitalism has relied on racial hatred as its best weapon to keep the Negro and white worker in economic subjugation, it is certainly logical to believe that in its struggle to maintain the greedy profit system it will be forced in the future to keep the Negro in his present second-class status and even to draw the color line, as Bilbo said "tighter and tighter." Therefore we must conclude that anything which prolongs American Capitalism proportionately impedes the Negroes' struggle for equality.

So even if we accept Ben Davis' vaporings as to the meaning of "Teheran" this ritualistic mumbo-jumbo that is being repeated by the Stalinists is prophetic only of the Negro's doom, not his salvation.

Hence this amusing—if it were not so tragic—phenomenon of the Stalinists marching under the liberational banner of Communism but actually traveling in the exactly opposite direction is one of the most dangerous and pernicious influences affecting the Negro struggle for equality.

Sign This Petition to Free the 18

Free The 18 Minneapolis Prisoners

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PRESIDENT FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

The undersigned respectfully petition you to grant unconditional pardon and immediate release to the 18 members of Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO and of the Socialist Workers Party now serving twelve and sixteen month prison sentences.

These trade-union and socialist leaders have been persecuted solely because of their opinions and their activities on behalf of labor. The U.S. Supreme Court in an unprecedented action refused to review their case even though the infamous Smith "Gag" Act under which they have been convicted clearly violates the constitutional rights of free speech and free press.

We believe that the unjust imprisonment of the 18 provides a dangerous precedent that is a threat to the democratic liberties of the American people.

We therefore urge you to uphold the Bill of Rights by pardoning the 18 Minneapolis prisoners.

NAME STREET CITY & STATE

Please return signed petition to CIVIL RIGHTS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, 160 Fifth Ave., New York City 10, N. Y.

JAMES T. FARRELL, Chairman — JOHN DOS PASSOS, Vice Chairman

CRDC Begins Campaign For 10,000 Signatures

(Continued from page 1)

voice to the numerous protests by prominent national Negro organizations, in a resolution to the President. In addition, Mr. Joseph James, Committee Chairman, wrote a personal letter to President Roosevelt, declaring:

"As a Negro I have long been interested in the minorities problem in this country. The treatment accorded one minority is likely to be accorded to others. A right most important to every minority group is the right of its members to express themselves for the purpose of bettering their conditions. When that right is denied, we see a legal weapon pointed against us. . . The Minneapolis convictions are out of line with every principle which has led minorities to support this administration."

George Novack, National CRDC Secretary has visited two more cities in his national tour to secure support for the CRDC campaign in the Minneapolis Labor Case. From Cleveland, Mr. Novack reported on March 30:

CRDC TOUR

"Everyone was pleased with the attendance and results of the meeting held by the Local Committee at the Hotel Allerton, on Sunday night. Auto workers, steel workers, Negro workers attended the meeting. I spoke after John M. Holly, President of the Future Outlook League. This is the leading Negro organization in Cleveland, numbering, according to Mr. Holly, 23,000 members. **It is an organization dedicated to the defense of the Negro economic and social rights and has branches in a number of other cities. Holly, who has himself been put in jail because of his fight for equal rights for his people, pledged the complete support of this organization to our Committee and its work. He gave us permission to visit any of his branches throughout Ohio."**

From Toledo, Mr. Novack reported: "The Toledo public meeting on Thursday night was equally encouraging, held in the new headquarters of the Toledo CRDC in the Roi Davis Bldg. Newly- painted, newly-furnished, centrally located, it was a very attractive meeting place. There were mostly auto workers and railroad workers—in fact all were one or the other. They listened attentively, asked questions, bought literature to distribute among their friends, and contributed to the collection that night."

CONTRIBUTORS

Among the recent trade union contributors are: Painters & Decorators No. 1309, Reading, Pa., Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 198, Passaic, N. J., SWOC Local 1339, Jersey City, N. J., Brewers Local 2, Newark, N. J., United Packinghouse Local 15, Kansas City, Kans., UAW Local 230 Maywood Calif., Amal. Clothing Workers Local 169, N. Y. C., SWOC, Local 2715, Reading, Pa., Amal. Lithographers Women's Aux., N. Y. C., Worcester, Ind. Union Council, Worcester, Mass., SWOC 2058 Maywood, Calif., ILGWU, 160, Bayonne, N. J., United Shoe Workers Local 56-A, St. Louis, Mo., Waiters & Waitresses, Local 1, N. Y. C.

Recent Workmen's Circle contributors are: Branches 182, Bronx, N. Y., 250-Y Bronx, N. Y., 493, New Haven, Conn., 198 Hoboken, N. J., 581 N. Y. C., 43 N. Y. C., 297 N. Y. C., 294 Bronx, N. Y., 95 Perth Amboy, N.J., 461 Linden, N. J., 818 New Haven, Conn., 111 Detroit, Mich., 179 Cincinnati, O., 140 Paterson, N. J., 760 Brooklyn, N. Y., 62 Passaic, N. J., 664 Sioux City, Ia., 39 New York City, 87-B Brooklyn, N. Y., 485 Toronto, Can., 184 Hartford, Conn., 261 Bronx, N. Y., 559 Cleveland , O., 88 N. Y. C., 277 Bronx, N. Y., 108 Lakewood, N. J., 244 Bronx, N. Y., 257 Atlantic City, N. J., 224 Bronx, N. Y., 320 Albany, N. Y., 99 N. Y. C., 122, N. Y. C.

Stop Whitewash Of Assassin Siqueiros!

(Continued from page 1)

disguised in police and army uniforms, had left, it was discovered that Sheldon Harte was missing. Several days later his body, with a bullet in the base of the brain, was found in a shallow lime-filled grave next to a cabin that Siqueiros had rented and used to prepare the attack.

Most of the murder gang were quickly rounded up. They largely included known Stalinists, who confessed to their roles in the crime and pointed out Siqueiros as the organizer and leader. Siqueiros had meanwhile disappeared. Four months later he was discovered in hiding and imprisoned on charges of homicide and attempted homicide, and secondary charges of unauthorized use of uniforms, robbery, housebreaking, damage to property, criminal association, etc.

It was impossible for Siqueiros to deny his guilt. He confessed, seeking to explain away the murderous attack with machine-guns, incendiary bombs etc., as intended for purely "psychological effects." He does not deny it to this day. According to **Time** magazine, Siqueiros now tries to dismiss it as "an unfortunate bit of political sniping on my part."

The powerful intervention of Stalin's GPU made itself felt from the moment Siqueiros was originally apprehended. In March 1941, the Mexican judge who tried Siqueiros simply dropped the gravest charges. **In May 1941 he was released on bail pending trial on the relatively minor charges. Less than a month after his release he skipped bail, fleeing the country with all his papers strangely in order.**

He next turned up in Chile where, it was announced, he was working on murals for a school being built by the Mexican government. He was thus being paid by the same government from whose courts he was a fugitive! During his sojourn in Chile, Siqueiros was placed under arrest for having skipped bail in Mexico. Thereupon the Mexican ambassador to Chile promptly intervened to obtain his release. Just prior to his return to Mexico he went to Cuba, where according to Cuban and Mexican papers he became implicated in the sudden death of a Cuban girl.

GPU AID

It now turns out that during his flight from justice he received not only the aid of the GPU but according to his own words the "greatest help" from an agency of the US State Department. This same agency, under Nelson Rockefeller, is now contemplating the next step for the rehabilitation of the self-confessed assassin — a junket through this country, with mural painting as a convenient cover.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that Washington is fully acquainted with Siqueiros' record and his role as GPU agent. **As part of its deal with the Kremlin, the administration is apparently willing not only to shut its eyes but actually to give aid to the activities of the GPU—Siqueiros, the self-confessed murderer is to be invited and feted. . .**

This is contemplated at a time when world-renowned anti-fascist fighters, men and women of unimpeachable character and reputation, are being denied visas to enter this country. Among them is the aged Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, who has been denied even a temporary permit to secure special medical treatment.

SINISTER IMPLICATION

The presence of Siqueiros in this country is pregnant with the most sinister implications. It cannot be regarded as anything else than a move to rehabilitate the reputation of a GPU assassin. The rehabilitation of Siqueiros will go a long way toward strengthening the hand of the GPU, and untying its hands in the United States in preparing new blows against the Kremlin's political opponents.

Every union leader, every liberal and progressive must rally to halt this brazen GPU move. The most vigorous and indignant protest must be raised against this attempt to extend the GPU terror apparatus to this country. The cynical diplomatic agents of the Roosevelt administration must be stopped in their conspiracy to rehabilitate the GPU gangster and self-confessed murderer, Siqueiros.

PIONEER PARAGRAPHS

SOURCES OF STRENGTH WHICH SUSTAIN MARXIST MOVEMENT

Our party is built on correct ideas and therefore is indestructible. But, in addition to that, I believe there is in this party of ours an intangible power which reinforces the power of its ideas. That is the spirit of the party—its comradeship, its solidarity. You know the word "comrade" has been so long abused and so badly defiled by self-seekers and pretenders that honest people sometimes shrink from using the word any more. But in the movement that has been created under the inspiration of Trotsky, with his example always before us, the word "comrade" has acquired a new, fresh meaning that animates the members of our movement, not only in their political work in the class struggle, but also in their daily lives and in their associations with each other. It is not any more, not with us, a formal and conventional word, but a bond of unity and solidarity. Our comrades are devoted to each other and trust each other. That is an intangible source of power that will yield great results in the days to come.

The grandest figure in the whole history of America was John Brown. In John Brown of Osawatomie the word and the deed were always in harmony with each other, never in contradiction, never in conflict. When the old warrior went to Harpers Ferry, to "interfere", as he said, against the abomination of chattel slavery, he took a small group of young men with him, among them some of his sons. They went to Harpers Ferry where they perished, because like Luther they could do no other. They felt required to do it. When Watson Brown, the son of the old man, lay dying in the firehouse, bleeding from his wounds, with his head resting on an old pair of overalls, the great governor of the slave state of Virginia came to see him. He said to Watson Brown, "Young man, what brought you here?" Watson Brown answered him in two words: "Duty, Sir!"

I believe that is the case with us. I believe that we have been under the same compulsion as John Brown's young men were. We were obliged to tell the truth. We saw the abomination of the imperialist war and we were under compulsion to tell the people the truth about it. We saw the vision of a socialist society and were under compulsion to fight for it at all costs and despite all hazards. We have done our duty.

(From "Why We Are in Prison." Speech of James P. Cannon, pp. 13-14; 56 pages, 10c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

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Flint Militants Active In New Michigan Party

(Continued from page 1)

This was obviously in recognition of the labor party pioneering efforts of Flint auto militants.

To counter the growing strength of the MCF, the CIO bureaucrats are spreading the story that they have practically captured the Democratic Party of Michigan. In reality they have only provided a labor veneer to this discredited machine especially after the exposure of the wholesale bribery scandal in the Michigan legislature. Democratic leaders are only too anxious to replace some of their indicted legislators with CIO stooges.

CIO politicians boast of overwhelming CIO majorities in the Detroit and Flint delegations to the coming Democratic State convention. Just for good measure they also have a few CIO delegates to the Republican convention.

It is significant that a goodly portion of these CIO Democrats are really prominent Stalinists, advocates of piece-work speedup, strike-breaking and complete submission to the war machine. The old parties welcome such "labor representation," hoping it will help corral the labor vote. It is doubtful, however, that many Michigan workers will be deceived again.

CAMPAIGN ON

Meanwhile the MCF organization campaign is proceeding. The MCF is enrolling charter members at $1 up to 31 days before the convention. Charter member clubs will be those formed within the same limit. Clubs will retain half the fee and half will go to the state office at Detroit, for organizational work. Unions and other groups may affiliate on a bloc basis, paying 1 cent per capita. Convention delegates, however, must be registered members, having paid the $1 registration fee, either to a club or to the state committee. Offices are at 606 Hofmann Bldg., Detroit 1, Mich. The phone is CAdillac 3085.

Commonwealth Clubs may be organized within a trade union or other group or on a neighborhood basis, by counties, cities, wards, precincts, etc.

The state committee meeting at Lansing set up four committees to prepare for the convention with the following chairmen:

Platform, Willard Martinson, educational director of Bomber Local 50, UAW-CIO, Ypsilanti; economic principles, Frank Marquart, educational director of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, River Rouge; by-laws and constitution, Philip Lutgen, president of Local 47, UAW-CIO; electoral activity, Blaine Marrin, financial secretary of West Side Tool and Die Local 157, UAW-CIO, Detroit.

The Genesee County Committee at Flint is headed by Chairman, Francis R. Palmer; vice chairman, Bert Boone, and secretary, Andrew Michelson, all of Chevrolet Local 659, UAW-CIO, of which Boone is president. Boone headed a "labor party" slate that swept all the Chevrolet local offices but one in the February-March elections.

DRIVE TO CONSCRIPT LABOR IS RENEWED BY ADMINISTRATION

(Continued from page 1)

labor bill, it is obvious that the strategy of the Roosevelt administration is to impose its program piecemeal. The "4-F plan" would be an entering wedge for Roosevelt's universal labor draft. How the 4-F plan would work was revealed by Col. Francis V. Keesling Jr., legislative representative of Selective Service who announced that measures had already been taken by the Selective Service system to put the

plan into effect. Those classified as 4-F, unqualified for any military duty, as well as those in Class 1 A-L, fit only for limited service, will be permitted "to remain in civilian life as long as they hold jobs deemed important by Selective Service," but will be subject to induction, "if they leave such jobs without permission of their draft boards." Just a modified version of Roosevelt's forced labor proposal.

LABOR BUREAUCRATS

The most disturbing aspect of the campaign to put over a "modified version" of the forced labor bill is the reported conversion of the labor bureaucrats to the support of such a measure. The N. Y. **Herald-Tribune** reports on March 24 that "top labor leaders, representatives of the War and Navy Departments and proponents of the Austin-Wadsworth national service bill were disclosed to have held last Thursday the first of a series of talks as to possible modification of the proposed act to make it acceptable to those who wholly oppose it." The same source reported the following day the announcement by Senator Warren R. Austin, co-author of the Austin-Wadsworth national service act, **"that the second of a series of conferences was held today to modify the Austin-Wadsworth national service bill and make it more acceptable. He said William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, was present, and expressed belief that labor is now in favor of some of the objectives of his bill."**

Why are the "top labor leaders" meeting in secret session with the deadly enemies of the union movement and what "objectives" of the forced labor draft are they now in favor of? The union members have a right to know what bitter stew their "leaders" are now cooking up! Why have these so-called leaders remained silent in the face of the campaign to put across the "modified version" of labor draft? It is already clear that the 4-F plan establishes a compulsory labor system designed to freeze workers to jobs selected for them by Roosevelt's agents. The only "modification" so far discernible is that, for the present, women are not included in the draft. The so-called 4-F plan is nothing but a tactical adaptation of the forced labor draft intended to disarm the opponents of the latter measure and provide an entering wedge for a further extension of slave labor.

The imposition of a labor draft, modified or not, will cancel at one stroke, the social legislation gained by the labor movement in decades of struggle. It will undermine the unions and make the labor movement easy prey for the Big Business tycoons who rule the roost in Washington and Wall Street. Every union local must take action immediately to force the "top labor leaders" to speak out against any and every form of forced labor. **Break the silence of the labor leaders by adopting resolutions demanding that they voice the unrelenting opposition to forced labor.**

PROFITS FIRST

The Army accepted 250 defective engines from the Wright Aeronautical Corporation despite their previous rejection by civilian Army inspectors, it was revealed on April 4 at a court-martial of three Army Air Force officers on charges of neglect and conspiracy. William J. Ratchford, one of the inspectors, testified, "The company did not repair them and we did not accept them. Then the company said it could not meet its monthly quota and they were all accepted in that condition."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

APRIL 7, 1934

LUXEMBURG — Expelled from Holland by the Dutch government, representatives of independent proletarian youth organizations reassembled in Luxemburg to discuss the lessons of the German events, of the crisis in the international labor movement and its youth sections. Delegates from Holland, Belgium, France, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Roumania, Greece, Spain, Australia and the U. S. participated; four of the representatives from Germany had been deported by Holland to Hitler Germany, and no word of their fate had been received.

The conference issued a call for the following campaign: Relentless struggle against Fascism; Against war, chauvinist and military propaganda, and the militarization of the youth; For the defense of democratic rights of the proletariat; For shorter working hours with no cut in pay; Against forced labor; For the defense of the USSR as a workers' State.

Delegates present represented the following groups: Union of Young Socialists, Holland; Revolutionary Youth Union, Holland; Young Socialist Union, Germany; Young Workers Union, Norway; Youth Group of Communist League of Struggle, U. S.; International Communist League Youth (Trotskyist), Germany, France, Belgium, U.S.A., Canada, Switzerland, Spain, Greece, Czechoslovakia, and Australia; Mot Tag Group, Norway; Federation of Young Communists, Sweden; Federation of Young Socialists, Roumania; and Unitary Federation of Young Workers, France.

NEW YORK — Trotskyist leaders participated in the Anti-Fascist Committee formed to aid Anthony Bellussi, militant Italian trade-unionist. **The Militant** reported Bellussi had "won the right of voluntary departure from the United States. . . sentenced to deportation to Fascist Italy, Bellussi is now enabled to escape from the clutches of the Mussolini regime."

NEW YORK — The second general strike of the New York taxi drivers was defeated, **The Militant** demonstrated, by "the combined forces of the companies who imported gangsters from Chicago to supplement the home supply, the police who drove scab cars and rode in them to provoke attacks by pickets, the yellow press which tried to frame up bombings on the union, the Mayor and his mediators, the NRA doves of peace. . . the Socialist party which sabotaged the strike and went in for a vicious red-baiting campaign in the union, and (by) the mistakes of the leadership."

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

The ALP Primary

The primary fight is over in New York's American Labor Party. The Stalinist-Hillman bloc won by a big majority and proceeded to take over the state machine. The Dubinsky-Social Democratic faction has made good its threat to walk out of the ALP.

Thus the curtain has been drawn on a performance which by its sheer obscenity must have revolted every class-conscious worker, every honest unionist, every sincere labor progressive. The primary fight between the two factions hit a new low in the methods of political warfare.

The issues agitating the American workers were completely ignored. Not a word was so much as whispered by either side about Roosevelt's proposed labor draft, about the wage freeze, about the attempt of the army brass hats to incite the military forces against the workers, about the war profiteering, and soaring prices. None of these problems interested Browder, Hillman, Dubinsky or Counts. The campaign was fought over one single question: Who would make the best lackey for Roosevelt.

Dubinsky, Rose, Counts, and Co. fought for this "honor" on the basis of greater seniority. Hillman and the Stalinists, on the other hand claimed greater zeal. For a worker striving to create a genuine labor party independent of the capitalist parties there was no choice between the two contending cliques inside the ALP.

The Militant took the only correct position when it advised workers that no progressive purpose would be served by the victory of one or the other faction, that the task for class-conscious workers therefore was to lay the "foundation for the reorganization of the ALP into a genuine labor party... not by backing one bureaucratic clique against the other, but by solid educational and organizational ground work in the trade union locals and the ALP clubs."

The Militant has consistently supported the ALP in every electoral contest in which it nominated its own candidates separate and apart from the candidates of the capitalist parties. Thereby we served the needs and the aspirations of the workers for an independent party of labor.

The primary fight between the two cliques inside the ALP was not in the least concerned with the need for independent labor political action. Both cliques campaigned in the primaries on a program of unconditional support of Roosevelt for a fourth term. As far as these clique leaders are concerned, the ALP was going to continue its subservience to the capitalist parties and to be tied to Roosevelt's apron strings.

The task of class-conscious workers in the primary campaign was to raise the banner of independent political action in the unions and the ALP clubs against both cliques in the ALP. This continues to be the task today after the primaries. They will proceed with the solid spade work which is the necessary precondition for the building of a new militant leadership in the New York City trade union movement and for the building of a genuine labor party.

Such perspectives never appeal to opportunists in the labor movement: they do not promise any miraculous results overnight. They involve too much programmatic intransigeance; too much hard, prolonged, sustained and systematic Jimmy Higgins work.

By now, it has become a commonplace in the labor movement for individuals, outraged by the crimes of Stalinism, to clique up with anybody, any force, any faction, any reactionary, under any program, for the ostensible purpose of fighting Stalinism. In the ranks of the Dubinsky-Social-Democratic faction are to be found not a few ex-radicals and renegades who have so completely lost their political bearings and integrity that they stand ready to join even with red baiters under a red baiting program provided it is against the Stalinists. In practice, of course, these "anti-Stalinists" only furnish grist to the Stalinist mill. They can't fight the Stalinists by counterposing to the Stalinist fink program a militant program of labor action. They espouse the same fink program themselves! So, they fight the Stalinists by bureaucratic expulsions, by exclusions, by trying to outdo and outshout them in their submission to reaction. All they accomplish is to antagonize thousands of workers by their bureaucratic high handedness and build up support for the Stalinists.

We witnessed this phenomenon in 1938 in the faction fight of the auto union. Homer Martin, then President of the UAW, by his red baiting, his bureaucratic high-handedness only built up Stalinist strength. At that time, a group of petty bourgeois opportunists, the late unlamented Lovestoneites, cliqued up with Homer Martin and excused everything on the grounds of the "Stalinist menace." They accomplished little more than to disgrace themselves. We witnessed an equally disgraceful performance today on the part of a group of petty-bourgeois opportunists—ex-Trotskyists, who alibied their support of the Dubinsky-Social Democratic clique on the grounds of the "lesser evil."

But the struggle for a genuine independent labor party in New York goes on. The growing militant movement, spearheaded by the unionists of the eastern auto and aircraft plants, taking inspiration from the accomplishments of their fellow workers in Michigan, will push for the building of a genuine labor party in New York. They will do this in struggle not only against the Stalinists and Hillmans, but the Dubinsky-Social-democratic crew as well. They will do it by outlining a militant program of independent labor action and launching a principled and hard-hitting fight for this program.

3,000 New Readers

The campaign for 3,000 new regular readers of *The Militant* is now under way. For the period up to June 30, readers of the paper are offered a special introductory subscription to the enlarged six-page *Militant* for 25 cents for 13 issues. This offer is made possible, first, because of the magnificent response of our comrades and sympathizers to the $15,000-15th Anniversary Fund Campaign. Secondly, by the restoration of our second-class mailing privileges, regained after a vigorous fight for the democratic rights of the workers' press.

One of the most important tasks of *The Militant* in the days ahead is to penetrate the fog of silence with which the capitalist press has attempted to envelop the Minneapolis case. The Minneapolis case represents far more than an injustice to 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Truck Drivers Local 544-CIO, who have been railroaded to prison for speaking out against exploitation and tyranny, against capitalist oppression and war. It represents more than the violation of the Bill of Rights. The Minneapolis case represents in this war what the Debs' imprisonment represented in the first world war. It is the spearhead of the campaign of the plutocrats, the reactionaries, to housebreak and terrorize the labor movement, to smash its living standards, to destroy its democratic rights, to Prussianize America and to regiment its people.

The Militant has a tremendous task to perform. It must bring the news and significance of this case into thousands of workers' homes. The ideas for which the 18 have been railroaded to prison are the ideas of Socialism. These ideas, this program, represents the only hope for suffering humanity.

The campaign for 3,000 new subscribers to *The Militant* constitutes a task of first class political importance. Of course, it helps strengthen our press and extend its influence. It spreads the message of revolutionary Socialism. This is important enough. But even further, the subscription campaign represents a campaign to smash the conspiracy of silence of the capitalist press, to bring home the true significance of the Minneapolis case to ever-wider circles of workers and thereby to organize the struggle of labor against the conspiracy of Big Business to silence all opposition to its dastardly rule, to its plots to throttle the unions and to totalitarianize America.

It is with this understanding, and on behalf of these great aims that we call upon all of our friends and sympathizers to put their shoulder to the wheel and put over the subscription campaign for 3,000 new *Militant* readers.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

Steel Convention

Editor:

In the coming CIO Steel Convention of May 9, President Murray will be forced to dodge every important problem. He will however, have to attack the War Labor Board for its anti-labor position. He will have to say a word for the soldiers. Murray is right in the middle, between a rebellious labor movement on his left and his "friends" in Washington on his right.

There is an opportunity right now, for all local unions to send many resolutions of a militant and progressive nature to the convention. Locals can get consideration for very timely resolutions and action if enough of them send in resolutions of the same content, for in this case even the hand-picked resolutions committee cannot evade the pressure. Here are my suggestions: resolution No. 1: Labor members resign from the pro-employer War Labor Board immediately. No. 2: Scrap the No-Strike Policy. No. 3: Encourage the building of strong shop steward committees in every plant. No. 4: Incorporate the No-Strike repudiation and the shop steward systems into the new steel contracts. No. 5: Emphasize the importance of Guaranteed Annual Pay, which Murray is conveniently forgetting. No. 6: Carry out in practice the official policy of No Discrimination against Negroes and Women. No. 7: Adopt the program of a constantly rising wage to meet the rising cost of living—the "escalator clause." No. 8: For the organization of grievance committees in the armed forces. No. 9: A union scale of wages for the armed forces. No. 10: Organization of soldier-affiliated organizations by the CIO, for returning soldiers. No. 11: Changing the CIO Political Action Committee into a committee to organize an Independent Labor Party. No. 12: Officers' Training of Workers under trade union control, to eliminate the reactionary power of the brass hats. No. 13: No confidence in government agencies and boards—reliance only on union strength. No. 14: Rank-and-file election of union organizers and representatives. No. 15: Preparation for a nation-wide steel strike to win the proposed demands.

It is difficult to arrange these in order of importance because especially in war-time, all progressive demands are of one pattern. The entire basis of these suggestions, (to which many others can be added) is that the government is gradually coming to control the fate of the smallest grievance in the mill or in the army. Labor must move ahead. Murray cannot afford to see it go behind, but neither can he force it to go ahead because he fears for his position. But a tree that does not grow, dies. So does a union. Therefore I throw out this final suggestion, spread the pressure by each local communicating with every other local as to these resolutions as well as all important matters. Eventually we may force district conventions with power to express the will of the CIO membership, between International Conventions.

A Steel Worker
Youngstown

Negro Struggle

Editor:

I would like to present some personal criticism of the "Negro Struggle" column of March 18, 1944, entitled "The Preacher Takes a Back Seat." The idea that we have to take the religious question and discuss in our press in the manner set forth in the article, brings us to the conclusion that we must make atheists of people before they can become revolutionists or sympathetic to our party and its program.

The Negro people in St. Paul by their actions have proven this is not true. I am sure that many of them who are friendly to us, would resent this article. They probably wouldn't say anything to us about it but I am sure it wouldn't help the situation any.

I am a long time member of the St. Paul branch of the N.A.A.C.P. and find that there is a real cross section of religious and non-religious people here, conservative and radical preachers, and all the things that you might find in a white neighborhood. To treat the question as purely a Negro question is, in my opinion, a mistake. When there are so many questions in relation to the Negro race which can be and have been treated in this column, I see no reason why we should discuss the question of religion. We don't have to make an issue of it in this country in the same manner that Lenin had to treat it in backward Czarist Russia. I think the primary purpose of this column should be to say what we are for. I am sure that the editors of this column would not be in favor of repudiating any help and assistance that we might get from militant Negro preachers.

J. P.
St. Paul, Minn.

Returning Soldiers

Editor:

What is to be done about the returning soldiers? This problem is already becoming acute as thousands of workers are being released from the armed forces. And with the certainty of unemployment after the war, are the soldiers and civilian workers going to fight for their rights side by side, rather than as two artifically separated social forces? Are the soldiers going to be organized into a militant group affiliated with the labor movement; or will they be scattered into hundreds of frantic bodies with conflicting programs that can bring only frustration and despair; or will the capitalists deceive them into one large anti-union Storm-Troopers Legion? The CIO and perhaps sections of the other large unions are showing concern for this problem—and that is good. But what is the solution, if fascist blackshirts are to be avoided?

The American Legion has definite plans to corral every soldier, sailor and marine into their super-patriotic, 100% capitalistic order. They are facing the problem with a vigor and intelligence which puts the labor leaders to shame. The American Legion is certainly a true fore-runner of a fascist movement. What could be better than to control ten million misled and hungry men to set at the throats of thirteen million union workers?

And within the armed forces, Murray and Green at last discover the anti-labor policies of the brass hats—union literature is frowned upon, anti-labor propaganda is dished out, and in general commissioned officers are exactly parallel to superintendents in the plant—and they don't love unions!

But with all the protests of the labor "leaders" to the army officials, the labor movement has proposed very little, at the top, to actually solve this problem.

Recently the Ohio State CIO Convention passed a resolution presented by several Youngstown delegates, that the CIO organize the soldiers into affiliates of the CIO. Such a resolution should be forced to the top of the agenda of every CIO, AFL and Brotherhood meeting all over the nation. And the unions must go further: they must fight for the democratic rights of the men in the armed forces. In the "fight for democracy," would not a little fighting for democratization in the army be in place?

J. W. and C. P.

International Notes

SWITZERLAND

In tiny Switzerland, still formally a neutral in the imperialist conflict, the working-class is showing a leftward tendency in line with the radicalization of the European masses already observed in a number of countries. In the Basle cantonal elections March 12, the Swiss radio reported, a new proletarian political group described as "more to the left than the official Socialist Party" gained 19 seats. Identified merely as a "Labor List," the new group scored at the expense of both Socialists and independents.

Although thus far spared the horrors of actual warfare, Switzerland's economic life has been badly disrupted by the imperialist conflict. To the Swiss workers it must become more and more evident that for them, as for the whole tortured European continent, there is no way out of the morass of destructive war except along the path of the socialist revolution.

POLAND

In Poland, just as in all other occupied European countries and in Germany itself, the Nazis are having increasing difficulty in keeping the lid down on popular mass movements directed against their hated rule. The Polish Telegraph Agency reported last week an admission by Hans Frank, Nazi governor-general of Poland, that German police could no longer guarantee "order."

He enjoined the Germans in that country to organize self-defense units against "the danger that threatens German colonists" in order to supplement the activities of uniformed policemen. It is essentially the same story in Scandinavia, Belgium, Holland, France, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Italy. The day is not far distant when the separate movements in these countries will coalesce into a single, united and overwhelming upsurge of the masses which will smash the Nazi tyranny and project all Europe along the path of the socialist revolution.

HUNGARY

In a recent statement Secretary of State Cordell Hull urged the people of Hungary to rise against the Nazis. He declared that "only by firm resistance to the hated invader can Hungary, the first of the Axis satellites to feel the Nazi whip, hope to regain the respect and friendship of free nations and demonstrate its right to independence."

Considered in the light of what has happened in Italy, this appeal is grotesque in the extreme. The Italian people rose against Mussolini and the Fascists many, many months ago. But this does not appear to have qualified them for the "respect and friendship" of the American imperialists for whom Hull speaks. In the southern part of Italy, controlled by the Allied armies, the Italians have been given little freedom and no independence. They are not permitted to choose their own government. In fact, in the teeth of the opposition of the overwhelming mass of the people, the Allies are propping up and foisting on the country the hated rule of Badoglio and his king, who only yesterday adorned the Fascist regime of Mussolini.

Preparations have been completed for a repeat of the Italian performance in France, as evidenced all too clearly by Hull's refusal to give sole recognition to de Gaulle and the instructions to Eisenhower to deal with whatever authorities he deems fit when his armies land on French soil. It will be the same story if and when Allied troops enter Hungary. The last thing to be considered will be the wishes of the Hungarian people, who, after the Nazis are thrown out, may well find themselves continuing under the heel of the murderous Horthy regime—the only difference being that the regime will rest on "democratic" instead of Nazi bayonets.

Incidentally, since when does any nation have to "demonstrate its right" to independence? Is this not supposed to be guaranteed, unconditionally, by the Atlantic Charter?

COLOMBIA

What the Associated Press described as a "paralyzing general strike" in Cali, fourth largest city of the Central American state of Colombia, came to an end on March 30 when the united action of the workers compelled the City Council to expropriate the property of the American-owned Compania Colombiana de Electricidad, a subsidiary of Electric Bond and Share which provides Cali with its electric power.

The company, in line with the profiteering practices of the monopolistic power corporations in this country, had been gouging the people unmercifully through excessive rates, which it stubbornly refused to reduce. The workers, not only in the power plant, but in every other enterprise as well, brought the matter to a head by a strike which stopped the city dead. The City Council, unable to vary the terms of the company's franchise, was forced to expropriate the entire property. This action shows what organized labor can do when it is united, militant and determined.

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Treasury Official Calls Contract Agents 'Thieves'

Officers of the armed forces responsible for issuing war contracts totalling billions "are dishing and shoveling out Government money with reckless abandon" and "some of them are plain crooks and thieves," admitted U. S. Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren last week before the House Naval Affairs Committee.

Warren revealed that as the so-called "Watchdog of the Treasury," even he is not permitted to look at the records on which final contract payments by the contracting agencies of the armed forces are based. The Comptroller General's testimony was given during a hearing on a bill to allow Navy officials full authority to make final contract settlements.

In a press interview the day before, Warren charged that war contracts have been drafted in the spirit of "greed and avarice" so "shocking" that he feared major scandals when some of the full facts are made public.

The notorious cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts, one of the chief devices for guaranteeing super-profits on war production, are "the most extravagant, most vicious, most damnable form of business imaginable," declared Warren. "We expect big figures for war—but every dollar should show a dollar's worth in return, and it doesn't."

No one is in better position to know the real magnitude of the war contracts robbery than the Comptroller General, who signs all U. S. Treasury warrants for expenditures. Thus, the latest testimony concerning the looting of profits billions with the connivance of Army and Navy officials comes from an unimpeachable source. The generosity of these military officials toward the corporations stands in sharp contrast to their agitation for wage freezing, the labor draft and repression of the unions.

Vast Food Stores Withheld To Create Scarcity Prices

The price-gouging meat trust, corporate dairy interests and processed food monopolies are holding in storage or letting rot hundreds of millions of pounds of meat, butter and other food necessities in order to sustain artificial scarcity and force up food prices.

This fact is implicit in the recent revelation by the N. Y. **Times** that "the major part of the huge food stockpiles with which the nation's storage space is crammed is available for civilians who cannot get it because they lack the requisite ration points."

The **Times** admission is contained in a story quoting F. D. Cronin, regional director of the Office of Distribution of the War Food Administrator, who disclosed on March 18 that "the Federal Government owns only a fraction of the total amount of food in cold storage." Of the total of frozen meats being held in storage, 676,111,000 pounds on March 1, the WFA was reserving only 4.6 percent.

In his disclosure of the stupendous stockpiles of food being held because the workers "lack the requisite ration points," Cronin stated: "There are three major categories of food inventories in commercial storage today—the largest being that privately owned and destined for distribution to civilians."

Warehouses and storage space are jammed with food—food the government doesn't want. Why isn't it released, and rationing reduced? Because the food profiteers want high prices which mean big profits. They would rather let the food spoil than permit the people to have it at the lower prices which would exist with plentiful supplies on the market.

Miners Journal Exposes Operators' Propaganda

Big Business always lards its dirtiest crimes with stinking hypocrisy. A recent example of this is contained in the self-laudatory advertisements issued by the big coal mine operators through their Bituminous Coal Institute. Among other vicious misrepresentations, was the following:

"American coal mines are the safest in the world . . .Fatal accidents in the mines have been reduced approximately 40 per cent in the past 15 years."

The **United Mine Workers Journal** thoroughly exposed this lie. It listed the last available figures from the U. S. Bureau of Mines, for the year 1935, which show **"that the fatal accident rate in the U. S. Coal mines is from 2.50 to 3.75 times that of any of the European coal producing countries. The tabulation follows:**

U. S.	Great Britain	France	Belgium	Germany
3.67	1.29	.96	1.10	1.45

"In 1942, the last year for which figures are complete, the records reveal that 500,000 men were employed in American coal mines. **There were 1,482 fatal accidents. Approximately 3 men out of each 1,000 employed in U. S. coal mines met death.**

"On the face of it, this shows a slight improvement over 1935, but the facts are that non-fatal accidents and permanent disabilities are on the increase . . .There was an increase of 11,000 non-fatal accidents between the years 1940 and 1942, more than 7,000 between 1941 and 1942. . ."

Speedup, lack of safety devices, dangerous but profitable "fast" processes are exacting an increasingly high death and injury toll among the workers generally. **But in coal mining the hazards are 6 times as great. "Right now, coal-mine casualties are running at the rate of 75,000 per year, or 16 percent on the basis of 500,000 men employed."**

The UMW paper points out that the money spent for the lying advertisements of the coal operators "is dug out of the ground by the coal miners." It also points out that these advertisements aren't intended merely for public "good will". The operators are out "to repeal the protective labor laws on the statute books."

The government permitted the operators steep price rises before any wage increases were granted. The miners were forced to strike four times for a meager raise. Now the operators are scheming to grind even greater profits out of the workers by knifing even the few existing legal protective measures won by decades of labor struggle.